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The Shape of Things

THE TWELFTH WAR-TIME MEETING BETWEEN Hitler and Mussolini was held as the British and American forces in southern Tunisia joined hands to crowd Rommel into his last African foxhole. The final phase of the African operations is at hand, but it may prove a prolonged one owing to the great defensive possibilities of the Bizerte-Tunis triangle. How much time can Rommel give us? That must have been the question preoccupying the two dictators at their conference, for their immediate strategic plans must depend largely on whether the dénouement in Africa comes in weeks or months. So long as Rommel resists, the danger of Allied invasions in Europe is likely to be postponed and the Axis given one last chance to seize the initiative with a surprise offensive which would disrupt Allied plans. A Berlin radio report of the Hitler-Mussolini meeting spoke of "a survey of Continental reserves" drafted for the occasion. Those reserves are still formidable, but the problem of where they can be most effectively employed remains. According to some reports, Mussolini wants them used for the defense of Italy, and in his exposed position he is able to show some of the strength of weakness. Hitler cannot well afford the collapse of Italy; but can he yield to Italian demands for men and materials without weakening other fronts? We hope that the Anglo-American High Command can sharpen this dilemma of the over-extended conqueror.

✶

WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE on problems of food and agriculture in the post-war world opens at Hot Springs, Virginia, on May 18, this country will be represented by a most able delegation. We particularly welcome the inclusion of Paul H. Appleby, Under Secretary for Agriculture, and Murray D. Lincoln, of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation and the Cooperative League. Mr. Appleby has distinguished himself as an administrator in the Department of Agriculture, and he demonstrated his democratic caliber by resigning from the State Department when his adverse report on the Peyrouton appointment was disregarded. Under Mr. Lincoln's leadership the Ohio Farm Bureau has developed a great program of consumers' cooperation, and at the same time has refused to back the selfish policies of the Farm Bureau Federation. The cooperative

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movement is spreading rapidly in America and fully deserves the recognition accorded to it by this appointment. Moreover, it has close links with cooperative organizations in Europe which are certain to play an important role in post-war reconstruction.

*

BUT WHILE APPLAUDING THE PRESIDENT'S appointment of delegates, we feel bound to join in the mounting volume of protests against the press policies which he has laid down for the conference. Newspapermen are to be excluded except from two plenary sessions at the beginning and end. They are not to be allowed in the hotel where it is to be held, and all information will be channeled through the office which Michael J. McDermot, chief of the Division of Current Information of the State Department, is to set up in the town nearby. We imagine that Mr. Roosevelt is hoping by this scheme to avoid the kind of propaganda in which delegates to any big international conference are apt to indulge through the medium of the press. But unless he proposes to hold the delegates incomunicado, we don't think his plan will work. Our foreign visitors may well resent having all information relayed through an American press officer, and they will find ways and means to get their story out. The American reporter, put on his mettle by this challenge, will also find ways and means of telling it. We cannot think this is a case where secrecy is justified or possible, and the only result of attempting to keep information from the people is likely to be the creation of unfortunate suspicions.

*

THE NEW BRITISH COMMON WEALTH PARTY, after several near misses described by Tom Wintringham in an article on page 548, has scored a political hit in a by-election at Eddisbury, Cheshire. Its successful candidate is John Loverseed, a veteran flier for the Spanish Republic and the R. A. F., and his feat is all the more notable because, standing on a very radical platform, he won a majority in a rural and normally conservative district. As Mr. Wintringham suggests, the political tide in Britain is still flowing strongly to the left. We are not certain, however, that his forecast of a Labor Party revolt against the National Government and an early general election will be upheld by events. After this article was written in early March Mr. Churchill made a speech which, while making no specific promises, outlined a post-war policy of social and economic reform. The Prime Minister, it would appear, had noticed the signs of political restlessness and was seeking to prevent its crystallization by hints that he himself was ready to adopt a broadly progressive post-war program. Recent dispatches indicate that his speech may have checked a movement inside the Labor Party to demand the Beveridge plan now, or else. The Labor Party members in the government are strongly in favor of continuing the political truce, and while they will no doubt meet stiff opposition at the party conference in June, the chances are that they will prevail.

*

HARRISON E. SPANGLER IS ABOVE THE PETTY hypocrisy of common or garden politicians. He is the man who celebrated his elevation to the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee by jibing at the milk-for-Hottentots dream of his fellow-Iowan, because, as he puts it, "My job is to build up an army of voters in the United States to defeat the New Deal, and I don't think there are any votes in China, or Mongolia, or Russia that I can get for the Republicans." That is the caliber of Mr. Spangler's statesmanship, and it is well to have it in mind when examining his new formula for conducting the 1944 Presidential campaign. Mr. Spangler's opposite number in the Democratic camp, Postmaster General Frank C. Walker, two weeks ago suggested the desirability of late party conventions and a short campaign conducted "on a very high plane." Mr. Spangler agrees, and all he asks as his price is that the Administration shoot itself here and now. For the sake of "the people who want victory ahead of all else," he proposes that the President publicly renounce at once all intention of seeking or accepting a fourth nomination. Without doubt such a declaration would be sweet music to Republican ears, but what would be the effect in London, Moscow, and Chungking? Planners of the peace would be reduced to playing Hamlet without the Dane. What, for that matter, would be the effect in Congress, where Democratic loyalties to the President now hang on the thin thread of patronage? Is a war-time President to reduce himself and the country to political impotence for nearly two world-shaking years in order to allay the professional fears of the Republican chairman? We imagine it will take more subtlety than Mr. Spangler can muster to force the President into an ill-timed commitment.

*

THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ON WHY HE could not sign the public-debt act with its rider repealing the $25,000 salary limitation deserves a place alongside his veto of the Bankhead bill and his hold-the-line order as part of his vigorous drive against inflation. Removal of the ceiling on high salaries could scarcely have come at a more unfortunate time. It forces the President to tell the farmers and coal miners that for patriotic reasons they must withhold their demands at the very moment that a few thousand men with incomes of more than $67,000 are being told that they need not sacrifice for the war. This conjunction of events cannot fail, as the President points out, to injure morale at a critical moment on the home front. Technically, the excess purchasing power placed in the hands of two or

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three thousand rich men by the repeal of the salary limit is probably less of a threat to the anti-inflation program than a $2-a-day increase to several hundred thousand coal miners. But the miners can scarcely be expected to view the situation in this light, and only the evidence that the President is sincerely trying to maintain the principle of equality of sacrifice in war time stands in the way of serious trouble.

*

THE HOBBS BILL—PET OF THE ANTI-LABOR bloc in Congress—was passed last week by the House in a slightly amended form. It is now before the Senate and is being pressed toward an early vote by a reactionary clique headed by Senator George and other Southern Democrats. There is some difference of opinion as to how far the bill in its amended form can be used against legitimate labor activities. A section has been added declaring that nothing in the bill shall repeal, modify, or affect the protection given labor under the Anti-Injunction Act, the Anti-Trust Act, the Railway Act, or the National Labor Relations Act. Nevertheless, it is apparent that an enforcement agency that was unfriendly to organized labor could construe almost any union activity in the transport field as "interference with the transportation of troops, munitions, war supplies, or mail," and thus bring criminal charges against the union officials. The bill has been selected by the anti-union forces in Congress as a trial balloon. Their fondness for it lies in the linking of union leaders with racketeers, robbers, and extortioners. Once this link is clearly established they hope to be able to push other and more drastic anti-labor measures. Under the circumstances the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. cannot be blamed for regarding the bill as not only potentially dangerous but a gratuitous insult to America's ten million organized workers.

*

THE FOLLOWING COMMENT ADDRESSED TO the Honorable W. P. Lambertson by a group of his fellow-Kansans seems too worthy of public notice to be buried in the Representative's files. Since it seems improbable that he plans to frank the message out, we take pleasure in sharing this editorial space with its authors—American Legion Post No. 163, of Marysville, Kansas:

> Be it resolved . . . that we, as voters of the First Congressional District of Kansas, apologize to the four Roosevelt boys and to the nation for our part in placing a man of the character and mentality of W. P. Lambertson in office.
>
> It has been with the mixed emotions of shame, disgust, and nausea that we have witnessed the attacks by Mr. Lambertson on these fine American soldiers. . . .
>
> As former soldiers we know of a time-tested method for a soldier to defend his honor, and we suggest to the Roosevelt boys that the first one to return to Washington settle personally with Mr. Lambertson, if he can be caught away from the sanctuary of the House of Representatives.
>
> And to you, Mr. Lambertson, we recommend that in view of your own war record you cease your scurrilous sniping from the rear. . . . Keep up the attacks upon the President if you feel it is the only way you can attract attention, but in the name of decent Americanism, lay off the boys. . . .
>
> Be it further resolved that the state officials of the Kansas Department of the American Legion be requested to investigate Mr. Lambertson's right to membership in the American Legion. . . .

*

TWO ORGANIZERS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL Woodworkers of America, C. I. O., were recently assigned to organize the 1,200 workers, of whom 90 per cent are Negroes, in the Anderson-Tully Lumber Company at Vicksburg, Mississippi. The National Labor Relations Board had ordered an election for April 8 to determine whether or not the I. W. A. represented a majority of the workers. On March 18 the two organizers—Claud Welch, a white man, and Frank Davis, a Negro—were brutally beaten and told to leave the county. In affidavits secured by the Southern Workers' Defense League Davis stated that after having been arrested on no charge and kept in jail twenty-four hours without food he was turned over by the police chief to three armed men who drove him into the country, handcuffed him to a tree, beat him with a rubber hose, and then drove him into the woods at the point of a gun. "God dammit," they told him, "we don't want unions down here. That's for people in the North." Welch said that he had been lured out of his home by a false message and driven into a waiting car manned by local officials and mill employees. He received the same treatment. On the basis of the affidavits the civil-liberties unit of the Department of Justice has ordered a federal investigation. As Maury Maverick used to say, it is high time the South—some parts of it at least—joined the Union.

*

IN REPORTING THE FOOD SITUATION, *LIFE* for April 15 served up to its millions of readers a mess of pottage that gives us acute editorial indigestion. Spread across the first page of the issue is a startling array of women's faces, some pained, but most of them just bothered or bewildered. *Life's* caption is: "For the first time since the start of the war, the faces of the home-front Americans (see above) mirrored the sad dejection and tight-mouthed frustration usually associated with the hungry peoples of Europe." This is strong language. And consciously or otherwise, the editors of *Life* here give aid and comfort to unscrupulous elements in the country who are bent on frightening and confusing millions of Americans. *Life* must know

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that those worried but well-fed faces do not in the slightest resemble the thin, despairing faces of women in Belgium, Greece, and Yugoslavia. *Life* also knows that the American food problem is essentially one of distribution. We all know that we have and can raise enough meat and vegetables to keep us reasonably well fed for some time. Holland, France, and Poland, on the other hand, have practically no supplies even of the basic foods necessary for subsistence. If we are short of meat, we need not go hungry. We can eat fish instead of lamb. In the conquered countries the Nazis have taken even the fish. To suggest that Americans have yet experienced or are likely to experience in the near future, if ever, anything like the "dejection" and "frustration" of Europeans is nonsense. It only serves to undermine the vigorous, if sometimes confused, efforts of the federal government to feed us all fairly and adequately.

The regular article by Freda Kirchwey, who is convalescing from an illness, will be resumed in a few weeks.

Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

THE defensive and conciliatory tone of the letter sent by Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles to Professor Ralph Barton Perry of Harvard, like the trend of events in North Africa, is a reflection of the power which an aroused public opinion can exert on our foreign policy. The dissatisfaction with "expediency" voiced generally in American publications of both the left and the right and the widespread protest against the maintenance of Vichy legislation in North Africa have had a good effect.

Much remains to be done, however, and the State Department still requires watching. For it is doubtful whether "the objectives of those charged with our foreign policy" are indeed identical, as Welles says they are, "with those of the overshadowing majority of their critics." If the policies which Welles defends were merely the reflection of temporary necessity and strategy, the department would not over so long a period have maintained an unvarying animosity toward De Gaulle, a consistent preference for reactionary exile groups, and an unfailing friendliness toward the Franco government. There would have been no slur at the "so-called Free French," and there would have been some indication of irritation, at least, at the hostility Franco has repeatedly shown our country despite the supplies we have sent him. Too many, though not all, of those in charge of our foreign policy gravitate naturally, because of their own social ties and political views, toward the undemocratic, if not the anti-democratic, camp. And though Welles emphasizes the desirability of "full public criticism," Secretary Hull's arrogant attitude toward both the press and Congress is not calculated to invite comment.

The explanation offered by Welles of Hull's attitude toward the Spanish Loyalists interned in North Africa is disingenuous at worst, and at best it reflects sadly on the Secretary's presence of mind. The query to which Welles refers was not "a query concerning Spaniards in Spain." It was, as attested by those present, a query concerning Spaniards held in concentration camps in North Africa. Hull's cagily worded reply indicated that he felt that in the disposition of these prisoners Franco ought to be consulted—as he may very well have been behind the scenes. The "clarification" which followed was issued when it became clear that Hull had made not a verbal but a political blunder, the same kind of revealing blunder he made in his statement about the "so-called Free French."

All these explanations and apologies show that even the State Department must pay some attention to public opinion. Other recent indications of this same fact were the speeches by Assistant Secretary of State Berle and former Ambassador Grew concerning our Russian relations. Berle has been a leader in the anti-Soviet bloc, while Grew has headed the "beat Japan first" school. Yet Berle demonstrated at length that Russia from the days of the American Revolution has played a friendly and helpful part in our history, and Grew was most generous in his praise of our Soviet ally.

It has been noted that these speeches followed the visit of Foreign Minister Eden to Washington and have themselves been followed by delay in De Gaulle's already long-delayed visit to North Africa. Eden, who negotiated the twenty-year pact between Britain and the Soviet Union, has been one of the foremost advocates in the West of better relations with Russia. The order of events has led to the belief in some quarters that there may have been an understanding behind the scenes in which the State Department diehards—among whom we do not count Welles—agreed to pay a little more than lip-service to the cause of improved relations with the Soviets in return for a transfer of British preferences from De Gaulle to Giraud. For many of these diehards hate De Gaulle with a hatred that cannot be explained by any need to "play along" temporarily, first with Vichy, and then with North African Vichyites. We hope there has been no such agreement and that the delay in the De Gaulle visit is in truth due only to General Eisenhower's estimate of military necessity. To drop De Gaulle might appease some people in the State Department, but it would hardly improve our standing with the peoples whose aid we need when we invade Europe.

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Post-War Money

NEITHER the American nor the British post-war monetary plan claims infallibility. Both have been put forward as bases of discussion, and since their broad objectives are similar, it is doing an ill-service to the cause of international cooperation to discuss them in competitive terms. Naturally there are many differences in detail, but our main impression, after making a close comparison of the two documents, is that there is an encouragingly wide area of agreement on this subject between the world's two chief trading nations.

The significant contrasts are not in matters of principle but rather in questions of approach and emphasis. The United States is now the banker of the world, and, not unexpectedly, the Treasury plan adopts a banker's approach, stressing the foremost importance of a stable relationship between currencies. The British do not minimize the importance of preventing wildly fluctuating exchanges, but they put still greater emphasis on the necessity of maintaining the balance of international payments. And there is economic justification for this position, since the instability of currencies is a symptom rather than a cause of the failure of nations to maintain equilibrium between their external payments and their external receipts.

In the days when it was operating more or less effectively the international gold standard provided an automatic adjustment of unbalanced trade positions. If country "A" exported more goods and services than it received, it drew gold from country "B," whose imports were in excess of its normal means of external payments. The result was an inflationary tendency in "A" as the influx of gold boosted credit. Prices rose, encouraging imports and discouraging exports. In country "B," on the other hand, the loss of gold caused a contraction in the basis of credit and a rise in interest rates. There was deflation, prices fell, stimulating exports and inhibiting imports. The result, in both cases, was stability as between foreign currencies at the expense of internal instability expressed in terms of employment and profits. But the system worked, more or less, as long as tariffs were moderate and creditor countries like Britain were willing to accumulate external surpluses in the form of permanent foreign investments. After the First World War these conditions no longer obtained, while a new disturbing factor appeared on the international scene—the constant shifting of huge short-term balances from one country to another under the spur of political and economic fear.

Recognizing that the gold standard cannot be restored, both the American and British currency plans seek a substitute for it which will be as impersonal as possible. The American proposal is for an International Stabilization Fund to which member nations shall subscribe specified quotas in gold, local currency, and government securities. These quotas are to be determined by a formula giving weight to such factors as each country's holdings of gold and foreign exchange, fluctuations in its balance of international payments, and its national income.

The methods by which the fund will operate can perhaps be best understood by a concrete illustration. Suppose that France, after a poor harvest, has bought wheat heavily from Canada and the Argentine. In the normal course of trade it has been unable to accumulate sufficient Argentine pesos and Canadian dollars to meet its bills. The Stabilization Fund, however, will be willing to sell these currencies to it in exchange for francs provided that the fund's holdings of francs, at the time, do not exceed a stipulated ratio of the French quota. If this condition cannot be met, then the fund would still be prepared to accommodate France, so long as it acts to correct the disequilibrium in its balance of payments indicated by the excess holdings of francs in the fund.

Disequilibrium also arises when a country's external trading results in a continuously expanding credit. Thus the steady influx of gold into this country before the war was the result of a constant favorable balance of international payments. If after the inauguration of the Stabilization Fund the United States continued to export more goods and services than it imported, the effect would be to deplete the fund's holdings of dollars. It would then become the duty of the fund to report to the government of the United States analyzing the causes of this lack of balance and recommending steps—for instance, a reduction in tariffs—to remedy it.

The British plan for an "International Clearing Union" approaches the same problem in a rather different way. It does not require any subscription of capital by the member nations, but it assigns to each a quota, based on pre-war foreign trade, which is in effect an overdraft limit. Transactions inside the union would be carried on in terms of "bancor," an international money of account fixed in terms of gold, and a preliminary agreement between members would fix the value of each currency in terms of bancor. Settlements between members would be made by a transfer of bancor from one to the other in the books of the union. Thus in the case cited above France would draw on its credit for the accounts of Canada and the Argentine. If, as a result, the French debit balance with the union exceeded its quota, the Governing Board could call on France to take definite steps to rectify its international balance. Such steps could include a limited depreciation of the franc. In the event of persistent failure to reduce an excess debit balance, a member could be declared in default and forbidden to draw against its account except with the permission of the Governing Board.

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The British plan resembles the American in failing to provide for positive sanctions against those who upset the international apple cart by ignoring the fact that trade must be an exchange of things and persistently sell more than they buy. When the credit balance of such an offender has exceeded half its quota on the average of at least a year, it can be called upon to discuss with the board appropriate counter-measures, including expansion of domestic credit, the appreciation of local currency, the reduction of tariffs, and the expansion of long-term international loans. But the ultimate decision will remain in its own hands—a clear concession to the United States, which seems likely to be the biggest sinner in this respect in the future as it has been in the recent past.

It is impossible in the space of a short article to deal with all the aspects of international monetary reform. We have therefore concentrated on this problem of balance because its solution is basic to the successful operation of either the American or the British plan or, indeed, of any conceivable machinery to regulate the flow of international payments. The old machinery had broken down hopelessly before the war because too many nations were operating on the theory that trade was a weapon and not an exchange of benefits. If the leading nations of the world cannot shake off this idea, then the best-laid plans will gang agley and we can look forward to another era in which half the world starves while the other half burns its crops.

Home-Front Offensive

WITH the dramatic skill for which he is famous, the President last week seized the offensive in the bitter home-front struggle against inflation. His Executive Order freezing all prices and wages, with minor exceptions, has checked, for the moment at least, the creeping inflation that had been under way for months. Coming on top of his vigorous veto of the Bankhead bill, the President's action has staved off the collapse of the anti-inflation program that seemed imminent a fortnight ago.

The significance of the order is greater than appears from an analysis of the provisions. It is what Mr. Roosevelt declares it to be—a hold-the-line order. It does, however, plug several holes that were threatening to develop into serious leaks. It extends the price ceilings to all goods not previously covered, which may include on-the-farm prices; it reaffirms the Administration's determination to stand by the Little Steel formula; it forbids employers to pay new workers higher wages than they were getting previously—thus checking the pirating of labor; and it instructs all public regulatory bodies to forbid rate increases on common carriers or for utilities.

This listing of the comparatively few changes brought about under the Executive Order is deceptive because it ignores the psychological impact of the order on business, labor, and the general public. The sharp reaction on the stock market and in commodity prices as soon as the order became known revealed a general conviction that the President meant what he said when he declared that "we cannot tolerate further increases in prices affecting the cost of living—the only way to hold the line is to stop trying to find justifications for not holding it here or not holding it there."

Chances of holding the line have been greatly improved by the Senate's refusal to pass the Bankhead bill over the President's veto. While the measure still rests in the Committee on Agriculture, where it can be brought out at any time, the President's veto message clearly made a profound impression in the Senate. His latest action should greatly strengthen the hands of the relatively small group supporting the anti-inflation program.

The chief threat now to the President's hold-the-line order is obviously John L. Lewis's demand for a $2-a-day wage increase in the coal fields. While some increase in the coal miners' wages can undoubtedly be permitted by a portal-to-portal arrangement or under the substandard wage exception included in the President's order, Lewis's bitterness against the President and the National War Labor Board may lead him to reject the maximum offer that can be made under the law. In that case the President may be faced with a choice between a disastrous coal strike and a revision of the Little Steel formula. His Executive Order makes it clear that there will be no appeasement of Mr. Lewis.

An inflation cannot, however, be stopped by wage and price regulation alone. If the amount of spending power in the pockets of the American people continues to grow with the ever-increasing volume of government spending, there is grave danger, unless this spending power is reabsorbed, of a tremendous increase of black-market operations. While every effort must be made to curb the black market by law-enforcement activities, the only fully effective curb is the elimination of the excess spending power that brings it about. This can only be achieved by increased taxation and savings, voluntary or compulsory. Mr. Roosevelt showed himself to be fully aware of this basic economic fact when he urged Congress to get busy in response to his earlier request for higher taxes.

Although two weeks have passed since the defeat of the Ruml plan, the House Ways and Means Committee has not yet even considered legislation for increasing taxes or speeding up collection through a pay-as-you-go system. The President's hold-the-line order has made action even more urgent than before. At least part of the enhanced spending power was being absorbed through normal inflationary channels. But the President's action chokes off this outlet, leaving the American consumer more than

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$50,000,000,000 in excess spending power, with only two possible outlets—(1) war bonds and other savings, and (2) the black market. Every effort must be made to corral as much as possible of this surplus in the current war-bond drive, but unless Congress takes its responsibility seriously and gives us a tax program promptly, the black market will continue to make headway. A year ago the President gave us a comprehensive seven-point program for the war against inflation. The battle is now being waged vigorously and effectively on six of the seven fronts. But if the enemy breaks through on the tax front, all our other efforts will have been in vain.

History Without Education

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 11

HONESTY and common sense were not conspicuous last week in Congressional discussion of the supposedly lamentable state of history teaching in our schools. Your humble correspondent is willing to start the procession to the mourners' bench. Like 98 per cent of the freshmen quizzed for the ever-vigilant editors of the New York *Times*, he did not know the minimum price per acre of federal public lands sold at auction before the passage of the Homestead Act. He suspects there may even be a Congressman here and there who would break into a cold sweat if asked, as the freshmen were, "Which was the first United States census in which railway mileage could have been reported?"

Like many other good people, Senators Guffey and La Follette have been duped by the *Times* project. Guffey joined in the attack on those somewhat mythical educators who insist "that social trends rather than real historical events were sufficient for understanding our nation's history." This formulation hardly states the case fairly for that new-fangled school of history—no older than Thucydides—which looks into the past for meanings rather than for names and dates on which to train the memory. The Senator's position is a bit obscure. He wants children taught to see the "long chain of facts" which link farm legislation "to populism and free silver, to free land and slavery . . . to Shays's Rebellion and beyond." He would have them understand why Jackson fought the Bank of United States. "How many of us," he asked indignantly, "know how business stole the country blind in the 1870's?" That is all to the good, but isn't it the very kind of social history attacked by Hugh Russell Fraser and the New York *Times?*

"The great service" for which Senator La Follette is unexpectedly naive enough to praise the *Times* survey is actually a service with which neither Senator Guffey nor Senator La Follette is in sympathy. It is to distract attention from a far more important quiz conducted last week before the Senate Labor and Education Committee, in the long and heart-breaking fight Senator Thomas of Utah has been waging in the cause of American education.

Here are a few questions for Congressmen and editors busily plucking motes from the eyes of freshmen. In what benighted country did a commission of educators report several years ago, "The educational services now provided for a considerable percentage of the nation's children are below any level that should be tolerated in a civilized country"? In the legislature of what country fighting a war of survival did a committee report last July, "About 433,000 men of draft age have been found to be without sufficient education to serve in the army, and about 250,000 of these, 'enough for fifteen divisions in the army,' are physically fit"? In what country are there 3,000,000 totally illiterate persons "and about 15,000,000 other adults who cannot read a newspaper or write a simple letter"?

The statement in the first question is from the findings of the President's Advisory Committee on Education in 1938. The second is from the report of the Senate Labor and Education Committee recommending passage of the federal Aid-to-Education bill as a war-time necessity. The third is from an appeal made to the Senate by Thomas of Utah in 1941 for a favorable vote on this long-pending measure. The country which provides educational services for a considerable percentage of its children below any level that should be tolerated in a civilized country, the nation which has lost man-power for fifteen divisions because of illiteracy, the country with 18,000,000 adults too illiterate to read a newspaper or write a letter, is the U. S. A.

The *Times* history quiz was a good story, though the dumb college freshman is not too new a joke on the educational circuit. It might have been used as a peg for a campaign in favor of the Aid-to-Education bill. Obviously if college freshmen are so ignorant, how much more ignorant must be citizens who have never had an adequate elementary education? But this year, like other years, finds the New York *Times* and those for whom it speaks indifferent or hostile to federal aid for education. Fraser's letter of resignation as an information officer of the Office of Education shows that those who ran the *Times* survey are not interested in providing *more* edu-

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cation. "All the money in the world," Fraser said irrelevantly, "will not correct the belief expressed by many students that Thomas Jefferson was Jefferson Davis." These people are not interested in more schools or in decently paid teachers. They are merely looking for another weapon in the fight against progressive ideas in education, as elsewhere.

"Unless the federal government participates in the financing of schools and related services," the President's Advisory Committee warned in 1938, "several millions of children in the United States will continue to be largely denied the educational opportunities that should be regarded as their birthright." What then seemed a problem of peace has since taken on military significance. Modern warfare, with its advanced technology, requires soldiers who have sufficient education to be taught how to use complicated weapons and workmen educated enough to handle their manufacture. "This," General Brehon B. Somervell, commanding general of the Services of Supply, told the Institute on Education and the War last August, "is an army of specialists. Out of every 100 men inducted into the service, 63 are assigned to duties requiring specialized training." Yet the National Resources Planning Board in its recent report on Post-War Plan and Program tells us that "20 per cent of the men of military age are found to have had less than a fourth-grade education."

The attempt to provide federal aid for education in the poorer states was begun in 1937 by the late Senator Harrison of Mississippi and Senator, now Supreme Court Justice, Black. The *Times* survey was published just in time to divert attention from new hearings on the $300,000,000 Aid-to-Education bill, now sponsored by Senator Lister Hill of Alabama jointly with Senator Thomas of Utah. "Hundreds of rural schools can be found," Senator Thomas said, "which are the merest shacks, in which the children are huddled together in makeshift desks, using a small number of dirty and worn-out textbooks under the direction of teachers who themselves have hardly finished high school." Opposition to remedying these conditions comes from those who would have to pay the bill.

The great natural wealth of the Southern and Western states has been largely drained off by the capitalists of the North and East. Federal aid to education would return some of that money to the states from which it came, and arrange for its use to provide decent education. In years past the opposition was led by Merwin K. Hart, pro-Franco president of the New York State Economic Council. He called the bill "bureaucratic and burdensome." He said it would "weaken the cause of private enterprise and capitalism." He trotted out the red bogy, perhaps in the belief that the best way to stop radicalism was to curb literacy.

Britain's Political Revival

BY TOM WINTRINGHAM

London, March 10

THREE things have happened here in recent weeks that taken together make it very unlikely that the political truce will continue in Britain for many more months. The first was a revolt by 116 Tory backbenchers against the government's catering bill. The second was a series of six by-elections in all of which the Tory candidates were returned but with majorities so small as to prove a great swing to the left in the electorate. The third was the vote of 119 members, including all non-government members of the Labor Party, against the government's policy with respect to the Beveridge Report.

The catering bill was introduced by Mr. Bevin, Minister of Labor and leader of the largest trade union in Britain. Catering is a sweated industry in Britain; very many of those working in it receive only a few shillings in wages and live mainly on tips. War conditions have brought a great expansion in the industry; canteens in factories and communal restaurants in cities and even in small towns are part of the organization of this country for maximum production. Our efficiency in war demanded that this trade be cleared up, but a sufficient number of Tories voted against it to make it probable that the bill is dead.

This brings into the open a development that has been going on for a long time. Property in Britain has been, and is, wrecking national unity. The war makes it necessary for some industrial property to be taken over by the community. Mr. Attlee promised in 1940 that property would be conscripted or drafted in the same way as labor. The promise has never been carried out; the Tories saw to that. Nationalization and rationing of coal became necessary a year ago; the Tories blocked it. In a dozen other cases Tory pressure behind the scenes has prevented measures being taken that are needed for the efficient conduct of the war, and are known to be needed by responsible administrators. But this pressure did not come into the open until February.

As soon as it did come out into the open, property

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began to feel a great deal bolder. Within a few days the great insurance companies swung their forces into action to see that the government accepted only those portions of the Beveridge Report which left their interests untouched. The report is not a socialist document. It outlines a system of social security adapted to a society in which industry is run for profit by capitalists, a considerable proportion of the working class is or may be unemployed, and all the rights of property are respected. But its enactment would rob the insurance companies of some of their past fields of profitable investment, including some in which their costs of collection were 40 cents in the dollar. It would also impose a burden on the nation's finances, though this would be extraordinarily small compared with the benefits derived not merely by the population as consumers but by industry. The government's position, until the debate in February, was thought to be one of simple neutrality: it would find out what the House of Commons thought about it all. To the surprise of everyone the government's position proved to be the acceptance of only those parts of the report which left the insurance companies happy, and a qualified acceptance at that. The principles of the report went down the drain, and the practical measures accepted were to be made dependent on unstated financial priorities of the future.

It soon became clear that this was a new form of Tory revolt: property had called the government to heel in this matter and was keeping it there with great ease. Among those who came to heel were all the Labor members with government jobs. But the Labor Party in Parliament reflected, though somewhat tamely, the utter astonishment of almost everyone at the government's rejection of Beveridge's principles. It voted against the government, not as a group of individual members of Parliament, but as a party following the line laid down in a resolution. In this way the ministers who voted with the government were, from the party point of view, the "rebels." And the truce patched up a few days later between these two sections of the Labor movement in Parliament consisted of a simple agreement to differ and a pious hope expressed on both sides that it would not happen again.

While these things were happening, six by-elections were taking place. All were in seats so firmly Tory that Labor had scarcely ever had much hope of winning

"CAN I INTEREST YOU IN LIFE INSURANCE ?"

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them. Those who undertook to fight the intrenched Tories in them were thought of as harmless freaks without a chance. The constituency I tackled was mainly composed of the western suburbs of Edinburgh; its stubborn Toryism has yielded only twice in sixty years, once to Mr. Gladstone and once to Labor for a single year. Scottish opinion is hard-headed, very slow to change; the electoral register was so out of date that nobody under twenty-five could vote. The men and women in the forces and those who had moved to go into war industries were not allowed to vote. Yet I reduced the Tory majority from nearly 10,000 to less than 900—the best result in twenty years. And in the six by-elections together the Socialist vote increased by a third—this in spite of the fact that the Tory, Liberal, Labor, and Communist parties all worked for the government candidates, and the great name of Churchill was used so much that the query heard in a pub was quite justified: "Why has old man Churchill got to stand here? I thought he was already in Parliament."

Of the candidates standing at these by-elections four were members of Common Wealth and two were Independents. In all cases their program was more radical than that of the Labor Party before the war. And it was not a post-war program. I stood for a people's war such as the Russians are fighting and for nationalization or common ownership now of those industries in which it would better war production. And naturally I had some things to say about General Franco, and North Africa, and appeasement in general. Some of the things I said were so hot that the most responsible Tory newspaper was goaded into replying that "Joe Stalin had been the worst appeaser in the world in 1939." One of my opponent's supporters, Captain McEwan, M. P., declared, "I was an appeaser, I am still an appeaser at heart, and I am proud of it." In its editorial on the result, the newspaper I mentioned grieved over the "real danger that the principles for which the Unionist and Conservative parties stand will be swept aside by the growing tide of socialism."

Various new elements are swelling this tide. Actually in no case did we poll the full Labor vote. We could not have Labor officials or delegates on our platforms because that would have led to their expulsion. In the one by-election where this was tried, that fought in Bristol by Jennie Lee as an Independent, the party machines expelled a majority of Labor's local representatives, and the vote was a disappointment because this open split in the Labor movement led to confusion and apathy. In other by-elections we were supported privately and in relative secrecy by the great majority of Laborites and by a noticeable minority of the Communists, who could not understand the party line of supporting Peyrouton in practice while attacking him in phrases. But the official Labor and Communist lines must have swayed a few dozen people to vote Tory, and certainly many thousands not to vote at all.

That we increased the Socialist vote in spite of all these factors against us means that there is in Britain today a parliamentary majority available for some new form of popular front with a positive program of social change. This program, let me repeat, is not concerned simply with post-war problems; it is a program for winning the war more quickly, the war against fascism and all fascism's supporters.

The problem of British politics today is only superficially when and how the electoral truce will break down. Inevitably, under the pressure of two great developments, it will break down fairly soon. These two developments are the revolt of the Tories in one direction and the enormous leftward swing of popular opinion in the other. Whether this leftward swing will find effective expression constitutes the real problem. It is largely a problem of the Labor movement, and it will come to a focus at the Labor Party conference to be held in the second week in June. This conference is extremely unlikely to reaffirm the resolution in favor of voting for Tory candidates that was passed by a tiny majority at the last conference. How much farther it will go in the direction of breaking the truce depends not so much on currents of opinion within the Labor Party as on the Tory pressure on the one side and the leftward swing on the other. My own guess is that the conference will lay down a program of three or four points and threaten to break the truce if the government does not carry out this program. In that case the Tory answer is likely to be a general election before Labor is ready for it, and before Labor has made a working arrangement with its new allies.

These new allies are found first in Common Wealth, many of whose members are men in the services, unable to vote but with some influence on opinion. On a tentative list of Common Wealth candidates that came to me last week more than 50 per cent were officers and men now serving. The principal speaker besides myself at my own by-election was an R. A. F. pilot who had not only fought the Battle of Britain but had flown and fought for Republican Spain; he is now standing as Common Wealth candidate at the next by-election.* Secondly, they are found among the youngsters, who will not come into the Labor movement as such because they think its representatives differ from the Tories only in being older and wordier. A third group from which reinforcements can be drawn consists of an active middle class—technicians and managers, scientists and journalists and doctors—which is now ready to go farther and faster toward social change than the Labor movement is; they have been swept from their old political alignments by admiration for Russia

* The candidate referred to is Warrant Officer John Loverseed, who was elected on April 8, winning the first parliamentary seat for the Common Wealth Party.

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and contempt for the men and forces who wrecked the last peace and showed their incompetence at Singapore. Finally, some support—the extent of which is very difficult to judge—will come from the new Christianity that causes bishops to write about the class war and revolution.

If the Labor movement treats these potential new allies as rivals and dangers, the political truce will still break down and the election will take place—probably this year—but in that case the men who want the old world back again will get a new lease of power.

Imperialism of the Sky

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

"NO SPOT on earth is more than sixty hours from your local airport." That was the headline over a recent advertisement of the Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation, and it is a fact that we need to grasp in all its implications if we are to adjust our thinking successfully to the new air age. The geographical shrinkage of the world to a smaller compass in terms of space-time than that of the United States a quarter-century ago makes all nations neighbors. Now we can all see the smoke of one another's fires, and the disputes of two households at the other end of the air lane become everybody's business. In the present war the United Nations are the rough equivalent of a vigilante group in a mining camp—an *ad hoc* organization to suppress trouble-makers. But that is a temporary solution: permanent security can be brought to Roaring Gulch, and to the community of nations, only when a common law can be both established and enforced.

The logic of the air age, therefore, would seem to require adaptation of political institutions to conform with the progress of aerodynamics. In democratic terms that must mean some pooling of national sovereignties in a world government that can adjudicate disputes between nations and enforce the peaceful acceptance of its decisions.

It is possible, of course, to draw other logical conclusions from the same air facts. Hitler saw in them an argument for world domination, and while he may be doomed, his ideas threaten to linger. Similarly an isolationist inoculated with air-mindedness will more likely than not come out in an imperialist rash. He will admit that America can no longer find security within its own boundaries, but the alternative, as he sees it, is not the subordination of American sovereignty—in common with other sovereignties—in the interest of world order but the indefinite expansion of American sovereignty. If America can be threatened from bases thousands of miles across the sea, then, the new imperialist declares, America should control such bases. If the civil aviation of other powers is competitively dangerous to American interests, all and any methods should be taken to crush it. Thus in the past few months the Chicago isolationists and the American centurions have joined hands in promoting a new air imperialism which, if allowed its head, could easily form the inspiration for a third world war.

A dangerous factor in this situation is the chauvinistic trend of a large part of the American aviation industry. An advertisement issued on March 3 by American Airlines under the signature of its president, A. N. Kemp, said: "Our air effort must not relax with victory. Immediate development and expansion of America's aviation is necessary also in order to protect our nation at the peace conference. Then either we will be *dominant* in the air—or we will be *dominated* in the post-war world."

This friendly message to our allies summed up in a few words what Clare Luce said in many in her freshman speech in Congress. "We want to fly everywhere. Period," she asserted, but we must not support a policy of freedom of the skies, for that would open our own air space to foreigners whose cheap labor standards would enable them to compete successfully with our air lines and aircraft manufacturers. Some days later Mrs. Luce declared that her speech had not meant what it appeared to mean—that she did not want America to control the air of other nations, and that she favored reciprocal air-commerce agreements. But by that time the damage had been done.

Actually Mrs. Luce is one of the milder advocates of American air imperialism, and she earned a rebuke from *American Aviation*, a bi-monthly magazine strongly supported by the aeronautical industry, for having said, "We do not expect and do not want one inch of territory outside our own possessions." On the contrary, this journal declared in its March 1 issue:

> The United States should become imperialistic in the Pacific—openly and aggressively. Not only should we take over every Japanese-mandated island, but we should assume complete control over every other island now nominally "owned" by another nation as far south as New Zealand and the East Indies. There should be no exceptions, for he who insists on compromise in the Pacific has no understanding of air power or the ramifications of world air commerce. . . . Let us welcome the air lines of the world to traverse the Pacific, but let the

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> Pacific territories be ruled by the United States. Let us decide who shall and who shall not fly over the Pacific. Let us develop the tropical empire as the new post-war frontier.

But even this proposal for aggrandizement at the expense of our allies, which has since received the enthusiastic indorsement of Representative Melvin Maas of Minnesota, appears modest in comparison with the views of some unnamed Congressmen as reported by the *Wall Street Journal* of February 27, 1943:

> America would be the only nation in the world permitted to manufacture civil and military aircraft. That's one idea. America would be granted control, through its oil companies, of the big petroleum fields of the world . . . and in this way have its thumb on aviation fuel for all. That's a complementary idea. These vast concessions should be demanded at the peace table or sooner in payment of United States monetary and production expenditure for the war, some members of the air bloc believe.

Perhaps such crackpot ideas as this can be laughed off, for obviously they could hardly be given effect unless America were prepared to fight the whole world, and probably their authors have no intention of pushing them to extremes. The approach of their authors is not that of the militarist or the diplomat but of the Yankee horse trader. They see lease-lend as a marvelous bargaining weapon which can be used to obtain material benefits from our allies. Thus, they argue, we should make our deals now before victory is won, for once the recipients of lease-lend are safe from defeat, we shall not be in so good a position to turn on the heat. This is neither a pretty nor a practical attitude, for we can hardly say to Australia, for instance, "Give us permanent control of certain air bases or we will stop supplying your troops with guns to shoot the Japanese."

When the House Foreign Affairs Committee was considering the lease-lend bill in February, it listened to several proposals for making lease-lend assistance to various nations conditional on the granting of permanent advantages to American civil and military aviation. But these suggestions failed to influence the committee's report, and the bill passed almost unanimously without any strings tied to it. We must therefore beware of attaching undue weight to the vociferations of the air imperialists. Yet when all the froth has been blown off their eloquence, there remains a bitter brew to poison relations between the United States and its allies.

In her now famous speech Mrs. Luce sought to contrast the Administration's lack of interest in post-war civil aviation with the busy and purposeful preparations of other countries. "Our farsighted British cousins," she said, "have already clearly seen the vision of the air world of tomorrow. They have seen that the masters of the air will be masters of the planet, for as aviation dominates all military effort today, so will it dominate and influence all peace-time effort tomorrow." And to prove her point she reproduced in the *Congressional Record* as an "extension of remarks" a lengthy report of a House of Commons debate on December 17, 1942. A study of this document reveals, however, that British air enthusiasts are just as disgusted with their government as Mrs. Luce is with hers. One private member after another complained that nothing was being done to prepare for post-war air-transport developments, that the British Overseas Air Corporation, which has a monopoly of empire traffic, was being shockingly neglected, that no long-range policies were being worked out, and that American aircraft manufacturers and air lines were being permitted to get such a start that Britain would never be able to catch up. This may be an overdrawn picture and the British government may have secret plans which justify Mrs. Luce's alarm, but it must be admitted that the known facts support the view that Britain's civil aviation has been flying backward.

During the war no civil aircraft have been built or even designed in Britain, and the empire air routes have been barely maintained by bolstering a heterogeneous mixture of obsolete planes with a few modern American machines. By agreement with this country Britain has concentrated on the production of war planes and has left the building of transports to us. The American program for planes designed to carry troops and supplies runs into many thousands, and the army's Air Transport Command has organized a vast network of routes connecting all fighting fronts. Its general policy seems to be to pioneer these routes and then contract with the various air lines to train and supply civilian personnel to operate its planes. Consequently American air transport companies are being given an invaluable opportunity to acquire the "know-how" of overseas flight and to build up a body of pilots who know their way about the air over distant lands and oceans. This situation will undoubtedly mean competitive advantage to the United States after the war. However, the British government has recently taken a few steps to redress the balance, perhaps because the shouting on this side of the Atlantic has given British aviation interests a new means of pressure. An Air Transport Command has lately been organized in the R. A. F.; one type of bomber has been redesigned as a transport; and one designer for one construction company has been given permission to work on the problem of an airliner for post-war production.

There is nothing in these modest measures to alarm the technically progressive American air industry. But what does excite the suspicion and jealousy of our seekers of manifest destiny in the skies is Britain's strategic advantage. As an interesting series of maps in the current issue of *Fortune* shows, the far-flung British Empire is, in many ways, as well designed for purposes of air power

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as it has been for sea power. So long as the principle of national sovereignty of the air applies, it controls many of the important international air routes as well as innumerable bases. Without trespassing in the skies of other countries, Britain is in a position to forge aerial links to almost all the dominions and colonies. On the other hand, "the United States air," to quote *Fortune*, "under strict sovereignty, is obviously not big enough to give us anything like a preeminent position on the world's air routes."

Premier Churchill a few months back disclosed stiffly that he did not intend to "preside at the liquidation of the British Empire," and more recently Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary for the Colonies, announced that his "first and fundamental principle is that the administration of the British colonies must continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain." This is a plain warning of Britain's resolve to insist on its absolute title to all the real estate it has collected, by one means or another, in the course of the past three hundred years. And there is no reason to suppose that the British government is not keenly aware of the added value which the air age has given to some of this property.

It is not my purpose in this article to suggest possible lines of compromise between British and American air interests. Certainly they are far from irreconcilable, but a satisfactory understanding can only be reached as part of a far wider agreement between all nations. If ways and means can be found for international cooperation in the expansion of commerce and the universal improvement of standards of living, then there will be room in the air for all, and the plane will become one of the basic instruments of world prosperity.

Again, if we can achieve a genuine measure of collective security, the control of military air bases ceases to be a burning question. And, in this connection, it must never be forgotten that the development of the long-range bomber has made every nation's security zone overlap that of other nations. Our frontiers lie as far east as Dakar and the North Cape, as far west as New Guinea and Siberia. Can we persuade or bully other nations whose territories come within our security range to submit them to our control? Of course not. Equally, neither Britain nor any other colonial power can be permitted to monopolize air bases vital to the strategy of common defense. Any nation which insists on providing unaided for its own safety must first conquer the earth. World conquest or world association: the logic of the air age leaves no third choice.

[*In the course of the next few months Keith Hutchison will contribute to* The Nation *a number of articles discussing other aspects of post-war aviation. The subjects will include the case for and against "freedom of the air," the economics of air transport, and Pan-American Airways and its rivals.*]

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

CROSBY'S VITALIZED PHOSPHITES. From the nerve-feeding principle of the ox brain and wheat germ. . . . For relief of brain fatigue, nervous debility, dyspepsia, sleeplessness, and night sweats. . . . For thirty years used by thousands of brain-workers with such success as a *curative* that now many take it before great mental effort as a *preventive* of mental and physical exhaustion. (Advt.)—*April 6, 1893.*

WHAT HAS BECOME of that tremendous enthusiasm for the annexation of Hawaii which two months ago was inundating the country? Commissioner Blount's arrival at the Islands is telegraphed, with the consequent depression of the annexationists and joy of the royalists. . . . Mr. Blount . . . plans to visit all the islands and employ several weeks in finding out the real sentiments of the people.—*April 13, 1893.*

"DIVISION AND REUNION, 1829-1889," by Woodrow Wilson, Ph.D., LL.D. . . . As might be expected from the learning and literary skill of the writer, he holds his subject well in hand, and, after a liberal allowance made for his point of view, he divides what seems to him the word of truth with a candor and discrimination that are worthy of praise.—*April 13, 1893.*

CHARLES L. WEBSTER & CO. publish today . . . "The £1,000,000 Bank-Note and Other New Sketches," by Mark Twain. (Advt.)—*April 13, 1893.*

IN NOVEMBER last, trade and commerce and comfortable living in New Orleans were brought to a dead standstill by the concerted action of the labor unions. . . . Judge William Wirt Howe, the counsel for the Board of Trade, suggested that this action was an unlawful restraint directed against trade and commerce by an unlawful combination. . . . The service of process was immediately followed by cessation of the strike.—*April 13, 1893.*

THE COLORADO DESERT in Southern California is about to be watered. . . . Men of the East do not know and cannot believe what wealth irrigation creates . . . where all outdoors is a hotbed. . . . We have a pamphlet to send you; free. Our immediate object is to sell shares. . . . The Colorado River Irrigation Co. (Advt.)—*April 13, 1893.*

THE MUSICAL Mutual Protective Union played its usual farce on Friday in trying to prevent the imperial German infantry and cavalry bands from entering this country as artists, on the ground that they are not artists but contract laborers. . . . Dr. Senner, of course, decided that Emperor William's musicians are artists, and admitted them.—*April 27, 1893.*

IN LOCAL musical annals the season of 1892-93 will go down as the Paderewski year. The Polish pianist will take his farewell of New York next Saturday, not to be heard again for several years, as he intends to devote his time to composition. . . . It is to be hoped that he will combine the functions of composer and pianist, giving concerts when his brain needs time for the maturing of new ideas.—*April 27, 1893.*

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Fascist Pie for Veterans

BY VICTOR RIESEL

JOSEPH McWILLIAMS, whose profile has done almost as much for American fascism as John Barrymore's did for the stage, has abandoned his Christian Mobilizers and street rioting on Yorkville corners for more respectable business. He is now engaged in selling a post-war bonus plan to the millions in the armed services and their families who are looking ahead to the time when our forces will be demobilized and jobs will be scarce.

Despite the camouflage of pseudo-economic verbiage with which McWilliams and his ghost writers have veiled his proposals, his "Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan" is merely a ham-and-eggs scheme which would give every man honorably discharged from the armed forces $7,800 in 3½ per cent interest-bearing United States government bonds. What at first appears to be another episode in the long medicine show which has been McWilliams's career on closer inspection shows itself to be the cleverest appeal for a know-nothing following that has come from the brain of an American fascist since Coughlin and his sixteen points. McWilliams, himself curiously exempt from the draft, has devised a bait to capture the imaginations of the men now fighting on twenty-one fronts and the seven seas. Without the slightest hesitation the debonair ex-street-fighter promises that "the Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan, when adopted, will resolve all doubts any individual may have about his future."

Just where McWilliams had his plan written for him and who is backing it are still mysteries to the newspapermen who have made a point of exposing his man-on-horseback activities. Shortly before Pearl Harbor he became involved with the New York police over the provocation of anti-Semitic riots in the German section of mid-Manhattan. His Eastern backers turned to less obvious Anglophobes after December 7, and McWilliams went into hiding. Curious reporters joined the FBI in tracing him down. Despite reports that he had returned to his native Texas he suddenly bobbed up in Chicago as a lecturer for the Midwest Monetary Federation. When classes failed to materialize, though the price was only one dollar a lecture, McWilliams and his backers looked about for new angels. Some months ago literature of his Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan began to circulate through the Middle West, and McWilliams himself, a little thinner but as handsome as ever, appeared as a lecturer before Kiwanis clubs, business men's groups, and the Navy Mothers. One of the Mothers virtually adopted him. When the writer and Walter Winchell revealed the connection, Colonel McCormick's Chicago *Tribune* charged that the Navy Mothers were watching McWilliams for the FBI and the army and navy intelligence. The *Tribune* had little to say about the self-appointed Sir William Beveridge of American fascism and his plan for a secure future for all service men. Well-informed political circles in Chicago believe that the Congressional boom now beginning for McWilliams will have little difficulty in obtaining press and radio support in the home city of the Patterson-McCormick press dynasty.

McWilliams has found strong support in America First circles. His publisher, Mrs. Alexis de Tarnowsky, the wife of an army officer, is a very wealthy woman. As Alice Rand she turned the Barrington Rand Press offices in Barrington and Chicago over to the promotion of the new panacea for post-war depression. In a short time the country will be deluged with her *Post-War Bulletin,* which is frankly issued as a personal McWilliams organ, and the handsome red-white-and-blue $1.50 book explaining the "Plan."

The new project is developing along lines radically different from those followed previously by either McWilliams or other endemic fascists. McWilliams has been streamlined by his new managers. He no longer rants or pounds the table. He talks of preserving democracy. He gives no sign of the crude anti-Semitism of his Yorkville days. His meetings are attended by prominent citizens of the little suburban towns around Chicago. He makes a quiet, gentle appeal for the future of "our boys."

At the beginning of his book, immediately after a glamorous photograph of himself in a dark business suit, he writes: "With infinite compassion for those who have suffered and died, and for those who are to suffer and die, with solicitude for the future of those who are to battle and live, to them—our heroic fighting men, I dedicate the pages of this slender paper." Later he is presented in the official biography as a crusader, a pioneer opening new frontiers. Just as his parents sought the new lands of the West, he is seeking new fields of social and political advance. He has made, the author asserts, a long and detailed study of the various schools of social, financial, political, and religious thought. In fact, the last few years of his life have been devoted almost exclusively to such activity. (His methods of study were illustrated in 1940, when he boasted that his conviction on a charge of inciting race hatred at a street meeting was good pub-

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licity. "I was in that court putting on a show," he said.)

The image in which McWilliams is being re-created has become a familiar European phenomenon, and the portrait of the new McWilliams reveals the shape of things to come in American fascism. "While not an extremist, passivist, isolationist, or interventionist, he has continuously advocated a national program of adequate planned preparedness," his biographer writes. "More than two years before the leadership of either political party realized the self-defense necessity of being prepared for possible war, he advocated military conscription and tremendously expanded national and hemispheric defenses as essential cornerstones for maintaining and improving our American Way of Life." (In an interview published early in 1942 McWilliams told reporters he was "against the Jews and the Allies" and expressed the belief that Hitler would win. "It's got to be that way," he said, "because the British Empire doesn't make sense.")

Joseph McWilliams

"The practical advantages of the Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan, socially, financially, economically, industrially, vocationally, and politically," the author of the descriptive booklet asserts, "are readily apparent."

> Its religious appeal [he continued] will also be as apparent except perhaps to those Christians who unfortunately are confused by the small group of anti-force theorists who in the last twenty years have so vociferously advocated an impractical theological softening down of the sterner realities of eternal truth. The author's [McWilliams] actionist creed is in line with both American patriotism and with Christian theology, as sincerely believed in and conscientiously lived by more than nine-tenths of those who belong to, or are affiliated with, Christian churches, including the majority of the leaders of all denominations. [On February 28, 1940, a meeting of twenty-three religious groups disavowed McWilliams's Christian Mobilizers.]

Catch-all is the word for McWilliams's plan. It will maintain morale, prevent collapse after the war, give our youth a chance to become productive, reconstitute the American middle class, create unity now, and, of all things, avert another bonus march. One of the cleverest of the arguments advanced for it is that the $7,800 worth of bonds to be given to "every soldier, sailor, marine, aviator, and coastguardsman" could be used for marriages delayed for many years by the war. "If our young marriageable people are kept from establishing families and homes by years of war and then are prevented from marrying because of economic reasons for additional years after the coming peace, the future of our nation, race, and culture will be irreparably damaged," the book states. With millions of our young people marrying on the plan's $7,800, McWilliams argues, the nation would be saved from economic as well as sexual collapse.

To his bonds-for-babies idea McWilliams tacks on a proposal for the end of slums and a vast post-war housing boom.

> The sum of $7,800 in Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan bonds, paid to each of our returning servicemen, and used as provided, will result in the building of millions of new dwellings. This is certain to create a huge movement away from the slums and the outmoded dwellings erected in past decades. This will do more to take millions out of the unhealthy, congested areas than all the housing programs heretofore launched.

In an attempt to capitalize on the unrest caused by rationing and the resultant closing of thousands of small non-essential businesses, he warns that "the nature of this war is such that it will result in the economic destruction of hundreds of thousands of American middle-class business men and women." The appeal to the suddenly declassed white-collar worker, who finds himself the least important unit of the war-time population, parallels early Hitlerian propaganda:

> Salesmen and those engaged in sales promotion, advertising, and merchandising have been driven from their activities. Automobile, radio and tire dealers have been forced out of business. In war production large concerns have acquired the lion's share of the orders. Because of priorities and other emergency measures countless thousands of small shops and factories have closed or faced closing. Great groups of middle-class people whose incomes are derived from fixed income-producing securities or investments are threatened with disaster because of the rising cost of living.
>
> We are witnessing the most rapid extinguishment of a middle group in history. . . . Democracies are the political expressions of middle-class imperatives. The destruction of our middle class would mean the end of our democracy. The Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan will perpetuate our American system. By paying $7,800 to those who have risked most for their country we will create a vigorous new middle class of 5,000,000 to 10,000,000.

In his attack on communism McWilliams becomes most reminiscent of his old rabble-rousing self:

> Unless we have a plan of action for the post-war period the Communists will take America by default. The just payment of $7,800 to our several mil-

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> lion militarily trained young men and their establishment as business-owning, home-owning citizens will utterly destroy the long-prepared program of the Marxists. These trained young men will be prepared, able, and disposed to smash a Communist coup d'état at a moment's notice.
>
> The Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan, and it alone, can save our people from social revolution and bloodshed. . . . This plan in operation will smash the hopes of not only the Communists but all varieties of totalitarians who scheme to force dictatorship upon our people. It assures us an opportunity to get through the dangerous post-war months without civil strife and a chance to go on to the fulfilment of the great and effulgent promise of America.

McWilliams's scheme would cost $78,000,000,000 if put into operation on the basis of 10,000,000 survivors of the present United States armed forces. This does not include the 3½ per cent interest. McWilliams proposes to pay this sum out of the running expenses of the government: "It will be paid with the wealth produced by billions of man-hours of work that would not be done unless they [the bonds] are issued and used to create business activity and total employment in the post-war era."

Unlike some of his contemporaries who have promised pie in the sky, McWilliams has worked out his plan in detail. It appeals through its simplicity. For every ex-serviceman McWilliams would place in trust for a period of seven years—with local boards of trustees similar in make-up to the present local draft boards—$7,800 in 3½ per cent government bonds. Part or all of these bonds could be sold by the ex-soldier to build a home, engage in business, buy a farm, or complete his education. The purpose, however, must be a worthy one. The interest rate is expected to guarantee a quick market for the bonds at par or above, and the cash would come from existing bank deposits. Thus McWilliams hopes to mobilize the funds of the nation "for immediate economic action—resulting in economically creative work by the servicemen beneficiaries." The bonds would be amortized over a thirty-year period.

The local boards, to be known as Servicemen's Reconstruction Trustees, would have possession of the bonds issued in the names of the local boys. The trustees would be chosen for their business experience, acquaintance with local affairs, and "fiduciary knowledge," and would have the final word on how much of the nest egg might be withdrawn and for what purposes.

This, in essence, is what the political speculators behind McWilliams are attempting to sell to the Middle West. Apparently some progress is being made, for the Barrington Rand Press has just opened a store on North Michigan Avenue in Chicago to display McWilliams's literature.

Now that McWilliams is no longer selling merely riots and anti-Semitism, his activities are being closely watched by Congressional America First leaders. From his experience a handful of isolationist Senators hope to develop a strategy which will gather the new crop of war veterans into their anti-New Deal fold. Every trick that will win the support of the men in uniform as they are demobilized is of vital interest to this group. McWilliams is only one of many out to get the veterans' vote. Typical of such activity is the campaign of the newly organized American Mothers of Detroit, led by a former America First organizer, for free furlough transportation and permission for husbands and sons "to visit their loved ones at least once every six months." The Mothers distribute their literature at meetings of Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party. Similar organizations are at work presenting plans that ostensibly respond to the various needs and fears prevalent among the boys in khaki.

These groups are led by second-string isolationist leaders. Should their appeals be successful in the Middle West, similar campaigns will be launched with much fanfare in New York and in other cities, particularly those in which Coughlin and Lindbergh once had large followings.

Diffident Invitation to a Rationed Dinner

Will you come to dinner Wednesday?
There'll be very little meat,
There'll be precious little coffee,
And you will not get it sweet,
There'll be bread already buttered,
Buttered, wisely, very thin,
There'll be artichokes, or cabbage,
And it won't be from a tin.

Will you come to dine on Wednesday,
Though the lights will all be dim,
And there'll be at most one cocktail,
And the hors d'oeuvres few and grim?
We will greet you very warmly,
Though the parlor won't be hot,
And the laundry-man says dressing
Would be simpler if we'd not.

But there'll be some old companions
In old suits and last year's shoes,
There'll be very old French brandy
(Which we'll thank you to refuse).
Come and take pot-luck on Wednesday
While our ration books permit,
Come and share in our privation,
Come and help us eat our bit.

IRWIN EDMAN

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Letters from Nation Associates

THE NATION'S appeal to its readers for funds with which to guarantee the magazine's continued existence has brought amazing returns in the number of contributions. What is quite as gratifying to the editors of an "opposition journal," almost all of the thousands of contributions have been accompanied by expressions of support and solidarity. In a later issue we will publish a report of the financial returns, which are not yet complete; we present here a small selection of the letters we have received from every part of the country.

A Dive-Bomber Pilot—and Others

Yesterday I learned for the first time that *The Nation* is sadly in need of financial support, without which the magazine might be compelled to cease publishing. Although I have never been a regular subscriber, I thank God that I have had the good sense to read it more than occasionally since the time I became old enough to realize that all's not right with this world.

This month I am leaving the country in the capacity of a naval dive-bomber pilot, and I deem it my privilege to be one of the contributors toward the sum which I trust will help to insure that your enlightened and forward-looking journal will remain "at the plate," slugging and swinging furiously against the forces of smugness, isolationism, and reaction.

Those of us who are fighting in this war as much for social gains as for the elimination of the threat of fascism will have less reason to become uneasy about developments on the home front as long as there are vigilant journals of expression like *The Nation* on our newsstands. I shudder with horror at even the thought that your magazine would cease to be published merely for lack of funds.

Keep us posted for heaven's sake if your financial obligations are not quickly liquidated. If necessary you can depend upon your readers to give more.

San Francisco, California ENSIGN A. W. B.

When I received your letter informing me of *The Nation's* plight, I asked myself, "Which can I do without: *The Nation* or two week-ends away from camp?" The inclosed check for $10 supplies my answer.

Best of luck and, of course, here's hoping!

Camp ——, Pennsylvania PVT. I. D. L.

Here's $25 for the campaign, and as partial payment for the years of satisfaction I've got from *The Nation*. I don't want a subscription—not now at least, when I'm lucky to find time to read the press section of *Time*, where I just saw a notice of the present drive. But I want to be sure *The Nation* will still be there when I do have time to read something besides field manuals and the *Infantry Journal*.

Camp ——, California LT. E. B. H.

Melting Pot

I have your letter of March 3 and am touched. Indeed, a Scotsman must be deeply touched when he pungles up $25 for a paper with which he is only partly in sympathy.

Sometimes you rile me terribly, particularly by your attitude on the labor question, but I have to concede your earnestness and sincerity, and I agree with you that probably the world would be worse off if *The Nation* were to succumb. So here is my favorite twenty-five bucks.

Colusa, California C. D.

Glad to do my bit but haven't very much. Miss Kirchwey's article this week on the slaughter of Jews in Europe is worth all I can give. My forbears were Quakers and came over in the early days, and I feel that any religious refugee should be welcomed—not kept away.

Berkeley, California M. V. F.

I have indeed a great affection for *The Nation*. This comes partly from the fact that my father contributed letters to this paper in 1871, when he was a volunteer surgeon (for the German army) in the Franco-Prussian War; and that *The Nation* has been, all my life, on the family's and my own reading table.

Chicago, Illinois E. L. D.

Wanted: A Million Subscribers

I am inclosing a Post Office money order for $10. I have been a subscriber for a long time; a reader for much longer. I came to this country in 1916. In 1917 I bought my first copy of *The Nation* in San Francisco and have been reading it ever since.

I have a small barber shop, and *The Nation* is on the table. It amazes me how few people ever look at it. The average American workingman is satisfied with the sporting page and *Life* and *Look* magazines. He buys the *Saturday Evening Post* and thinks the unions should keep out of politics. I sometimes wonder if we shall see a better world before *The Nation* has a million subscribers.

Oakland, California P. H.

Scraping the Bottom of the Barrel

I am a retired railroad employee, seventy years of age, having worked for the same railroad forty-seven years at a small wage. I receive a small pension now, which is practically my sole income, and with conditions as they are at present, life for me is a perpetual struggle for survival. However, since my wife died a few years back and my only son is now self-supporting, that militant spirit I had for the battle for a new and better world and the uplifting of the working class of the world has just about deserted me. No doubt this horrible war is partly responsible for this depression of mine.

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Truth to tell, I am beginning to feel more and more as if I had been a citizen of some other world and was only a visitor here on this earth. The Catholic church, with the mantle of Christ over it—what a mockery. Green fighting Murray, Lewis fighting both, the State Department acting like a Chamberlain, the working class being killed, butchered, robbed, starved, raped, and exploited by the millions.

Yes, I admit this world needs real fighters, humanitarians and libertarians, and as you come under that classification I am scraping the bottom of the barrel and sending you a check for $10 which closes my account with the bank.

Washington, D. C. T. T.

I hope the inclosed check for $10 will help. I have had publishing experience myself and can appreciate the problem. I regret to say at the present time I am a prison inmate, earning but 15 cents a day. This about cleans up the balance to my credit on the institution books, but you are welcome to it. Perhaps it will bring me luck, just as your splendid liberal publication brings me immeasurable inspiration even behind these gray walls.

Connecticut T. B. J.

I Sometimes Disagree, but . . .

I am glad to inscribe myself in Nation Associates as a Foundation Member at $100 and am inclosing herewith my check.

I have been a subscriber of *The Nation* since about 1917, and I have missed hardly an issue. Your record of the last quarter of a century and before is a noble one, and I would not like to see your usefulness terminated. This does not mean that I have always agreed with the ideas and sentiments expressed in your publication. I think that our country in the past has become great and wealthy and powerful by having as little bureaucracy and government as possible, whereas in *The Nation* the idea of more and more central control seems to prevail. To me the welfare of the individual citizen and of our country will not be advanced over the long run by a paternalistic system of state socialism in time of peace. But of course *The Nation* never expects all of its readers to think exactly alike. However, in its advocacy of great moral issues and principles *The Nation* has been magnificent. Its fearless defense of human rights, even for minorities and unpopular groups, has endeared it to those who love freedom and justice and truth. May it continue to lead in such causes!

Long Island, New York H. S.

And Sixteen Cents

Inclosed find a check for $5.16.

Five dollars is in honor of *The Nation* in the hope that it will survive all difficulties. Five cents is in honor of our Ambassador Hayes, who enthuses me to the limit by his delight in the fact that busses are now running in Madrid while our war workers in this country do not get enough gasoline; that plenty of oil is being shipped to Spain—most likely for the use of the Blue Legion; and that a great supply of food products arrived in Spain while out West in our country a woman killed two of her children because she had not enough proper food and clothing for them. Five cents is given to you in honor of our State Department, which still doesn't seem to know where and when the sun rises and sets.

Five cents is given to you in honor of Mr. Dies, who will soon discover that all readers of *The Nation* are Communists. One cent is given to you in honor of Mr. Coughlin, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Christian Front, all of whom made the wonderful discovery that the Jews are running this war for the purpose of dominating the world.

Also, information please! There are a number of people who are afraid that Stalin will stop at the German border; and there are also a number of people who are afraid that Stalin will not stop at the German border. Do you know the answer? Are they both right in being afraid?

Yonkers, New York P. T. B.

For Services Rendered

In answer to your call for financial aid I submit my contribution not as a gratuity but as a tax, for to me *The Nation* serves purposes as necessary as those performed by police and fire departments.

New York J. S. M.

If *The Nation* were to crumple up, we should feel that the nation itself was crumpling. May you be able to avert the disaster.

Lawrence, Kansas R. R. M.

Fifty Democrats from Spain

I take great pleasure in inclosing a check for the amount of $100 for the collection which is now being carried on for *The Nation*. The total amount represents exactly fifty individual contributions of $2 each, which fifty different refugees of the Spanish Republic now residing in this city have gladly donated. It is, as you can see, a very modest token of our great appreciation of the magazine which you so wisely direct, of the principles it stands for and so courageously defends.

Our support of *The Nation* is inspired not only by our feeling as Spaniards but also by our stand as democrats who have fought for three consecutive years against the same evil forces that the United States and the United Nations are now fighting, to achieve the same goal—a worldwide democracy. We feel, naturally, very much obliged to you and the members of your staff for the great pains you have taken to make known to the public the truth about the Spanish situation under Franco. Yet the fight that took place in Spain was never a fight for the mere purpose of defending our country. It was a fight for democracy. It was a fight for a people's victory, a fight for a people's peace.

That is why we support *The Nation*—because its aims are the same as ours, it struggles for the same principles we do, whether the political battlefield be France or North Africa, England, Latin America, or the United States.

We are happy to be able to help in the collection, and for the above reasons you know that we feel that *The Nation* is one of us.

O. A. SUCCAR,
Secretary of the ACERE (Association of Exiles and Former Combatants of the Spanish Republic)

New York

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The Second Front Reconsidered

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

WHEN the American High Command shortly after Pearl Harbor determined to deal first with Germany, it made the opening of a major land front in Europe the most important immediate problem of the war. All through 1942 the questions where, when, and how were on every tongue, and second-front demonstrations indicated a keen popular awareness that aerial and naval blows were not enough and that Germany must be struck a heavy blow on land if the United Nations were to win the final decision.

Today, nearly a year and a half later, this needed European offensive has still failed to materialize, and even the demand for it has lost the now-or-never urgency of a year ago, for German reverses in Africa and Russia have made the Allied cause appear much brighter. But if Hitler has already failed in his attempt to win the war he has not necessarily lost it. He has scant hope of destroying any of his three principal foes, but with the advantages of superior land power and a central position he might reasonably expect to drag on an expensive and indecisive war to a negotiated peace that would leave him with most of the spoils. Despite the talk of "unconditional surrender" at Casablanca, there is little doubt that this is the present German purpose.

The principal object of Nazi strategy in the west is to prevent a heavy land attack from becoming a reality. If the Germans are to get even a draw, they must destroy enough shipping to keep down the striking power of the Western Allies and hold off invasion. As long as transport difficulties keep the size of an invading force within the German capacity to combat it, the Reich is reasonably safe.

On the other hand, the true strategy for Great Britain and the United States calls for invasion as soon as there is a fair assurance of success. Air bombing, by its attrition of German strength, is bringing that day closer, as is the winning of the African struggle. But while these two campaigns are important, they are only preliminary—and strictly secondary—to the more decisive struggle to come. It is already clear from the extremely careful, deliberate strategy of the British and Americans that Europe will not be invaded until there is a definite chance of success. The refusal to invade Europe in 1942 in aid of Russia offers proof that diversionary campaigns or operations to prevent suffering or the extermination of nations will not be undertaken.

Much depends upon bringing the African war to an end. Success in driving out Rommel will release for service elsewhere an enormous amount of man-power and shipping. After consolidating their hold on the African coast, the Allies will need to leave there only skeleton garrisons, which, with superior naval and air strength, should give ample insurance against surprise.

We missed a golden opportunity early this year by failing to invade Europe at a time when the southern German armies in Russia were threatened with disaster and few reserves were available. We may not have as good a chance again, but we certainly have a definite obligation to keep alive a great enough threat to prevent German concentration on the eastern front.

An adequate supply of troops may present a very genuine problem since the number of men going directly into the combat branches of our army is comparatively small. However, some numerical inferiority may be overcome by excellent equipment, thorough training, and overwhelming air superiority. Again, the possible weakening of enemy morale and the disruption of enemy industry by bombing, now becoming increasingly a reality, may permit some shaving of numbers. But there is obviously a limit beyond which this cannot be carried. Final defeat of Germany is partly a mass-army problem, and it is by no means certain, even after three years of arming, that we have the necessary force available.

If we attempt an early mass attack, we may have to get along with less shipping than we have formerly considered essential. No other phase of the war has been so disappointing as the effort to master the submarine. Even though for the past several months our new construction has surpassed sinkings we have not added the tonnage earlier regarded as necessary.

Rather too much credence has been given to the German scare stories telling of enormously strong fortifications along the coast of Europe. No such thing as an invulnerable defense line has yet been constructed, and no chain of fortifications is stronger than its weakest link. Defenses extending three to four thousand miles cannot everywhere be strong. Nor can the coastal defenses of Europe be as strong as they were a year ago when second-front possibilities were mainly confined to France and Norway, and German garrisons were not required in southern Europe save for police purposes. The establishment of beachheads in hostile territory is never easy, and Secretary Stimson has rightly warned of heavy casualties ahead, but with the weapons now available this problem can be met. From hints dropped by Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stimson in recent speeches, as well as

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from the known facts, an attack on continental Europe seems likely some time between the summer and late fall of 1943, the date depending upon such factors as the clearing of North Africa and the amount of shipping available.

The African campaign has opened up many new possibilities of attack. If our cautious policy is continued, we shall strike in areas far distant from the centers of German power where transport difficulties will reduce the Axis defensive strength. This requirement is still met in Norway, and in addition a successful campaign there would deprive Germany of valuable iron resources and safeguard the supply line to Russia. Whether recent reports of the smuggling in of weapons and saboteurs are true or merely a part of the British war of nerves it is impossible to say; internal aid would be invaluable since Norway is comparatively remote from Allied air power.

The southern coast of Europe offers two especially inviting routes of attack and others less feasible. The best prospect in the Mediterranean is found in the occupation of Sicily and Sardinia, followed by an attack on the exposed coast of Italy. Both air and sea protection could be supplied over the short distances involved; most of the base facilities and experienced troops needed are already present; the whole south coast of Europe is less easy for Germany to defend than areas farther north owing to geographical barriers and a paucity of north-south railways. However, the enemy has now been given ample time to prepare against this very move.

Another promising line of attack might start with an amphibious invasion of Crete and the Aegean Islands, followed by a similar move into Greece. By way of Salonika and the Vardar Valley, thrusts could then be made into war-weary Bulgaria and Rumania and also into Yugoslavia, where we could count on active support. This route of attack, when used by the Allies in the First World War, brought good results. The long initial hop of some three hundred miles between Egyptian bases and Crete is the greatest drawback.

Finally, the Channel coast of France and the Low Countries continues to be by far the most logical jumping-off place for an invasion of Europe. This area is of vital importance to Germany, is extremely close to Allied bases of supply, can be dominated by Allied air power, and for years has been the object of almost daily reconnaissance sweeps. Success here would eliminate the most dangerous submarine bases and almost overnight oblige the U-boat to conduct its campaign under the geographical handicaps it faced in 1918.

But there are obstacles here also. The Germans are not blind to the importance of the Channel coast and have concentrated their best defenses and garrison divisions in the area. Reaction to the Dieppe raid last year was prompt and vigorous, and even air superiority did not prevent an expensive Allied defeat. If the second front is opened in France it will be because we are willing and able to face a showdown with the German army at its strongest.

Our programs of shipbuilding and troop training are not aimed at victory in 1943, and we shall be considerably stronger a year from now. Invasion of the Channel coast, with the decisive test of power it would certainly bring, is therefore not immediately likely, but we shall probably launch a preliminary campaign in the near future.

In the Wind

A HOUSING DEVELOPMENT for war workers is being built by the National Housing Administration at Farrell, Pennsylvania. It was originally planned to put the development on an attractive site in a good neighborhood, but when it was learned that Negroes as well as whites would live in it the plans were changed. The new dwellings will be surrounded by slums.

THE SPECIAL SOVIET EDITION of *Life* included pictures of unnamed individuals typical of the different peoples who make up the Soviet Union. The typical Jew was Professor Joseph J. Lieberberg, former president of Biro-Bidjan, who was dismissed in October, 1936, on charges of Trotskyism.

EDUCATION ITEM: Willford I. King, professor of economics at New York University, reveals the facts of economic life in a bulletin distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., in opposition to any plan to limit large incomes: "From early youth, most of us have been taught to dread taxes and to plan how to avoid them."

RELIABLE PARTIES will be interested in this advertisement in the *Billboard*, trade paper of the circus and sideshow business: "On account of disappointment due to the draft, have a complete Hawaiian Girl Show. Will give same to reliable party."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The *Tuberkuloseblatt*, a German medical journal, says that 80 to 90 per cent of those suffering from tuberculosis in an inactive form are being forced to work, often under "unsuitable conditions." . . . Tuberculosis in Holland has increased 74.5 per cent under Nazi rule. . . . DNB, official German news agency, says a similar figure among Belgian children is due not to a real increase of the disease but to faking in order to get special rations. . . . From the French underground comes the following menu of a Pétain dinner: hors d'oeuvre, white beans, stuffed cabbage, salad with sardines and leeks, cauliflower, anchovies, tongue, cold cuts, sausage, broiled salmon, ham, pâté de foie gras, filet mignon, potatoes, peas, omelette, stewed fruits, coffee, and liqueurs.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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Political Unity First

BY NORMAN ANGELL

TODAY we and the thirty nations allied with us are fighting for our freedom. We shall win. But when we have won, how shall we keep our freedom so that we shall not have to fight for it all over again in a decade or two after the next peace, as we are now fighting little more than two decades after the last?

Many of us feel perhaps that when the enemy has been defeated, the job will be done. But we must remind ourselves that we defeated him completely, utterly, twenty-five years ago and ask why we now have to do it again in a second even bloodier and more devastating world war. If we do not answer that question in our minds we may make exactly the same mistakes this time. We may once more throw away our victory.

Why did our peace fail? Why is the freedom of 90 per cent of the people of the earth now in jeopardy?

Let us recall for a moment what happened after the peace was made. Within a year or two the grand alliance which had fought the war against Germany had gone to pieces. Long before the Peace Conference was over, bitter differences had arisen among practically all members of the alliance. Britain and America were at odds with each other and with France. France, you remember, surrendered its policy of a separate Rhineland republic and a permanently fortified Rhine frontier in return for a promise of aid from Britain and America in the event of another German attack. Those Anglo-American guaranties of French security were not ratified; and as soon as it was clear that they never would be, the peace of Europe began to disintegrate. France adopted a policy of inflicting damage on Germany with the idea of keeping it weak. The Ruhr invasion a little later was a characteristic feature of that policy. We in Britain and America were shocked but failed to do the one thing that would have kept France from this course—failed, that is, to say to it, "We will guarantee your security with everything we have if you will so behave toward Germany that this Weimar Republic will have a chance of life." We did not take this step, which would have helped a decent Germany to survive. We did, however, adopt a quite futile pro-Germanism. We began to say, particularly in America, that Germany had been badly treated, that the Treaty of Versailles was a wicked document, and much more to the same effect. The result was the growth in France of an Anglophobia which was to explode later at a tragic moment and make it easier for Hitler to secure the surrender of France.

The association which had won the victory in 1918 continued to disintegrate. France, Britain, and America became separated from Russia, and mutual distrust grew. Japan, one of the Allies, attacked another ally, China; later Japan and Italy, which had fought Germany, became Germany's allies.

If a similar disintegration is to follow a new victory, what is the good of talking about the permanent repression, not of one people, this time, but of two—Germany and Japan. If absolute repression of those two nations for generations is to be our policy, a degree of unity, cohesion, and cooperation will be demanded of the United Nations which not even two nations, to say nothing of thirty, were able to achieve in the past.

I suggest that, whatever policy we ultimately adopt, our freedom can never be secure unless we recognize, far more clearly than we have recognized in the past, that the real price of freedom is the fulfilment of certain obligations, that the right to freedom carries certain duties—obligations we have repudiated and duties we have neglected.

Note what failure to cooperate involves. We have seen the rights and freedom of nearly the whole of Christian Europe destroyed by a relatively small group of ruthless and evil men; twenty states have passed under the power of one. We have seen states whose democratic freedom dates back a thousand years—as told in Icelandic sagas—overthrown during a week-end. How has this amazing thing, the defeat and subjugation of millions by a few evil men, been brought about? Surely that is the first question which should concern those who want to build a free and humane civilization.

The answer which comes nearest to being the complete one is extremely simple and yet is very seldom given; it is an answer which we all in some measure evade. Those twenty states have perished as free nations because each said in effect: "We refuse to defend the security or the rights of others; we will defend only our own." Because all said this in one form or another they were all at Hitler's mercy, however much they armed.

If I dwell upon truths that were known by the thinkers of Athens and the seers of Palestine, it is because we are still, in the midst of the Second World War, denying them. The right of the 90 per cent not to be killed, destroyed, enslaved by the 10 per cent is the first right we must insure, for without it no other right whatever, whether of religious or intellectual freedom or eco-

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nomic welfare, has the slightest value. Yet we are not making this our first purpose. Indeed, we are apt to insist that this right of itself will not suffice to move men; that people will not work and fight merely to be free of violence and terror and enslavement; that they must be offered a new economic order of one kind or another. A new economic order, however, cannot possibly survive—as Russia is finding out—unless the other condition is fulfilled, unless there is common resistance to violence, unless there is political unity rising above economic doctrine.

There is no purpose in creating a new social order, as Russia has discovered, if it cannot be defended. And it can only be defended, again as Russia has discovered, collectively, with the aid of other nations which may have very different social forms. Russia has learned that though communism may be the ideal form of society, it cannot have communism unless it is prepared to cooperate with nations that are not Communist; as capitalist nations have discovered that they cannot have free enterprise unless they are prepared to cooperate with nations that are not capitalist.

If we are not to miss the truth that political unity comes first, as we missed it before when we needed it most, we must go on stating it. Every right, including freedom, has its duties. I believe that the people will accept the fact that rights mean duties, that freedom means surrender of some freedoms, that a better future demands unity, and that unity is based on toleration and discipline.

Noguès—Case Study in Opportunism

BY EMILE BURE

THE French generals provide the key to the North African situation, which seems to brighten for a moment and then once more darkens into obscurity. In analyzing the problems of political warfare which have arisen in the first territory to be occupied by American troops, it is therefore of the greatest importance that we keep in mind the psychology and traditional mentality of these men.

In 1918 General Foch said to Clemenceau, "You know, I am not subject to your orders." Clemenceau replied succinctly, "I don't know where you got that idea, but I advise you to forget it." He knew that the military leaders, for the most part sons of noble families, educated in religious schools, consented only reluctantly to work with the Republican ministers, secretly regretting that they could not eliminate them altogether. Marshal Pétain was adept at concealing his counter-revolutionary game. I had so often seen him scraping and bowing before Clemenceau that I firmly believed him to be a Republican until the day he was named ambassador to Madrid to do the bidding of Franco. Up to that time I had despised him only because he had been a defeatist during the last war and his defeatism had almost made possible a German victory. Nor did Marshal Foch possess civic virtues to match his military talents. Publicly he approved the pacifist policy of Briand; in private he denounced it. Anatole France, in his delightful "Souvenirs de jeunesse," wrote: "Having once been a hero on the battlefield, my Uncle Hyacinthe thereafter believed himself absolved from all moral obligation." How many Hyacinthes I have met since the last world war in the ranks of the war veterans!

The case of General Noguès, Resident General of Morocco, provides a striking illustration of the "Vichyism" to be found among many French military and civil functionaries. Are these men supporters of the "New Order," admirers of Hitler and Mussolini? Most of them are not. They are opportunists of the smallest caliber, trying to hang on to their jobs at all costs for the sake of the comfortable pensions they carry. As long as Pétain held the purse strings, even though it was by the grace of Hitler, whose victory at the end of 1940 appeared certain, Pétain was France for these office-holders.

General Noguès was filled with dreams of personal ambition when the German armies invaded France. At that time he believed, it may be said to his credit, that the French government would move to Africa and would delegate to him supreme military power. In order to influence the government in that direction and demonstrate that he had the forces with which to support French resistance overseas, he sent two officers of his command to Bordeaux. They arrived at Marignane on the very day that Pétain succeeded Reynaud as President of the Council of Ministers, and were arrested as soon as they had stated the object of their mission. General Noguès did nothing to obtain their liberation; on the contrary he promptly disavowed their mission by his acts. While he was in Algiers, his police arrested Georges Mandel at Casablanca. Lord Gort and Mr. Duff Cooper, who had flown from England to confer with Mandel, were denied an interview by the police. Mandel was then ordered to leave Morocco for France, where he was thrown into prison.

Having decided to hitch his wagon to the Pétain star,

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General Noguès organized the defense of the Moroccan Protectorate not for the purpose of repulsing a German or Italian attack but rather to oppose any English or American landing. His conduct last November when American boats appeared on the horizon has dishonored him for all time. Landing operation or commando raid? he asked himself before deciding on a course of action. If he had believed it to be a landing operation, no doubt he would have cried, "Long live Roosevelt! Long live Churchill!" But thinking, apparently, that this was only a hit-and-run commando raid, he continued to shout, "Vive Pétain!"

Recently, in the New York *Times*, General Bethouard, General Giraud's envoy to Washington, expressed some timid, though plain, doubts about General Noguès, but apparently harbored no resentment against the Moroccan governor for having arrested and imprisoned him. I am less indulgent than Bethouard. I cannot understand why Noguès is allowed to remain in power in Morocco surrounded by a band of dissolute and unscrupulous hangers-on such as gather in the wake of every revolution and counter-revolution. How can anyone understand it who knows that Noguès was willing to sacrifice the lives of thousands of Americans and Frenchmen for his own material interests? Even Darlan was unable to obtain from him a pledge to cease armed resistance. At Port Lyautey a regiment of tirailleurs drove the American troops back into the sea, and at Oran one American regiment lost a third of its effectives. General Noguès refused to give the order to "cease fire" until he had been informed by the German general who headed the Disarmament Commission in Morocco that the supply of ammunition was exhausted. Following Noguès's instructions, Admiral Michelier sent to the bottom of the harbor not only the French warships under his command but a number of merchant ships as well.

This man, skilled in the devious by-paths of politics, had been able to capture the confidence of Léon Blum, who appointed him a high civil commissioner in spite of the vigorous campaign carried on by the newspaper *Populaire* to limit the employment of generals to specifically military duties.

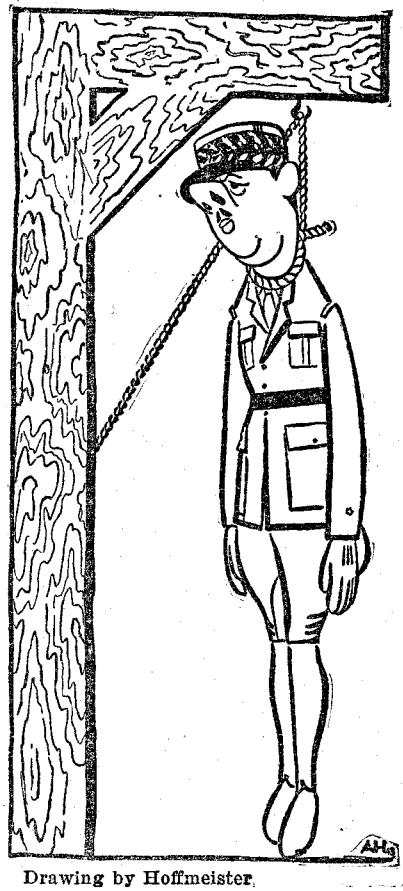
To the standard of General Noguès at Rabat flocked all the derelicts of the French fifth column. Noguès chose as his Minister of Interior the notorious Colonel Guillaume, whom one met everywhere, at the homes of Lyautey, Deschanel, Loucheur, Caillaux, Jean Hennessey, even at the house of the British millionaire Guinness—wherever he could collect favors and profits. In almost every newspaper—the *Petit Journal*, the *Quotidien*, the *Vendemiaire*—Guillaume was attacked as thief and sycophant. During the years 1927 to 1930 he headed the boards of several suspect companies founded by a Syrian rascal named Sacazan, and it was only through his quick-wittedness that he avoided serving a prison term with Sacazan. Just before war broke out he was publisher of *Choc*, the Cagoulard paper which was waging a bitter fight against Colonel de la Rocque, leader of the Croix de Feu, because De la Rocque was willing to receive secret subsidies from André Tardieu and Pierre Laval but not from Hitler or Mussolini, and, too, because he had failed to translate into bloody deeds his veiled threats of revolt. Naturally Guillaume had no place in his Moroccan police for honest men. Chevreux, for example, the former Prefect of the Marne and director of the Sûreté Nationale, found no employment with Guillaume, though he had served Marshal Lyautey in Morocco well and faithfully.

It is unfortunate that America and Britain, in the interest of their own cause and that of France, have not seen fit to stop the night flights of these Vichy-inspired *chauves-souris*—*chauves-souris* who can change their habits to fit the circumstances—"I'm a bird, see my wings! Now I'm a mouse, long live all rats!"

The First Execution

THOSE who look askance at promises and pledges made by leaders of the Fight for Freedom must learn to restrain their pessimism. In one instance at least the ponderous machinery has begun to move: the first session in the trial of the war guilty has officially opened.

The record of the man now before the august tribunal of the United Nations could not be more burdened with infamy. In the summer of 1940, while noble old Marshal Pétain, with the support of the entire Catholic bloc, tried to save France from spiritual disintegration, this man rebelled against his Führer and his country. When he was taken into the Allied coalition for reasons of expediency, he embarrassed his mentors by calling for action—at a moment when a comfortable quiet reigned on most fronts. With fur-



Drawing by Hoffmeister

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ther lack of democratic discipline, he insisted upon introducing into the purely military issue of winning the war all kinds of disturbing political claims. Not satisfied with talk of "compulsory democracy," he actually accepted Communists into his ranks in a disgraceful attempt to revive the French people's front of the middle nineteen thirties.

But it was after the landing of American troops in North Africa that he proved himself one of those "premature anti-fascists" who by their impatience and lack of comprehension courted real disaster. He wanted the reestablishment of the laws of the Republic; he wanted a democratic government in North Africa; and he wanted all this at the very time when the more realistic General Giraud was proclaiming "not politics but war" as the edict of the hour.

This first war criminal appeared before the court of the United Nations last week. The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* presented the opinion of "informed circles" that the culprit was an "ambitious and disturbing element" in the conduct of Allied affairs. The name of the convicted man, shown on the preceding page, is General Charles de Gaulle.

Neutrality or War?

Many Americans may have overlooked the sharp tone of Ambassador Litvinov's reply to the question whether or not he believed Spain's neutrality to be assured, as some official circles in Washington and London would pretend. His reply, made in a press conference following his presentation of credentials as Soviet ambassador to Cuba, was quick and clear: "Who speaks about Spanish neutrality? Spain is at war with us. She is sending troops to fight us. You call that neutrality? I call it war." It might have been imagined that a statement of such importance, made by a high Soviet official, would receive the full attention of the New York press. But in the main papers it was covered in two short lines on the inside pages; in others, not at all. And why? Because it was more than a statement; it was an accusation.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IT WOULD not have been surprising if the brighter situation on what is for Germans the chief front, the Russian, had brought an improvement in the people's morale. But everything indicates the contrary. One gets the impression that there is only a one-track connection between military events and morale: every bit of bad news increases the depression, but good news brings only slight relief. It is just in these last weeks, moreover, that the full convulsive meaning of the total mobilization has been brought home to the people. These facts explain the government's continued admonitions and reassurances, which are such a sure indication of what is going on in the heads of the people.

In the last days of March a noteworthy new theme made its appearance. The leading article of the *Essener Nationalzeitung* of March 28 was entitled Is War Economy Bolshevism? The *Frankfurter Zeitung* of the same date was more definite, heading its leading article German Government's Demands on the People Are Not Bolshevism. Similar articles were carried by all the other newspapers and are still appearing. The Nazi regime is defending itself against the accusation that it is "exactly as communistic as the Communists."

The German upper classes have long called the Nazis Bolsheviks, and they will hardly have changed their opinion under the impact of the new measures each day brings forth. On March 24 the Berlin *Börsenzeitung* announced that hereafter in towns with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants only one banking establishment would be allowed to do business; all others, including the branches of the great banks, must close. On the next day the same paper announced that the insurance companies were forbidden to seek new business through either advertisements and other printed matter or the visits of agents, or even through telephone calls. Next came the mysterious law that all persons who had bought stocks during the war, and all who bought them in the future, must make a declaration and send in the list as soon as the total amounted to 50,000 marks (about $20,000). Since such a registration has regularly been the forerunner of some kind of confiscation, the perceptible uneasiness is understandable. Every day some new decree of this kind is promulgated, and those who are hit—as we learn from Goebbels's current polemics against them—are reacting with the phrase "The Nazis learned that from the Bolshies."

The newest propaganda campaign, however, is concentrating on the middle class, especially the lower middle class, whose members have been convinced by the closing of thousands of "superfluous" stores, businesses, and handicraft shops that the Nazis are imitating the Bolsheviks. It is a fact that the majority of these shops will never open again; and in closing them the government has often destroyed the work of a lifetime or even of several generations. But the official campaign is trying to convince the people that the closings are only temporary and therefore not bolshevistic. The *Allgemeinezeitung* on March 20 went so far as to admit the measure "could perhaps be misunderstood." But nothing could be farther from the Hitler regime's intentions, it continued, than a bolshevistic "campaign of liquidation" designed "to destroy the middle class under the pretext of total

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mobilization." On the contrary, when the war is over it will be seen that National Socialism "always protects the middle class."

According to the Germans' own statements, the quota of foreign workers in many factories has risen to 75 per cent and more. Certainly the presence of foreign workers has become a phenomenon of major proportions in the Reich. In the official accompaniment two different motifs can be heard. Dr. Ley and Herr Sauckel, the man-power czar, affirm that everything is splendid. The imported serfs are happy; they are superb workers; they have become sincere friends and admirers of Germany. But other voices warn incessantly that the foreign workers are all potential enemies. "Foreigners," said a South German newspaper, "must be carefully watched when they are working at machines lest they cause serious damage through negligence or malevolence."

There is continuous propaganda against forming friendships with these foreigners. And not only on account of *Rassenschande*. The Gauleiter of Alsace, for example, declares that "national security and dignity and the maintenance of working discipline demand that a certain distance be kept." The Gauleiter of Saxony announces that he "sharply disapproves of the sentimentality of many Germans toward foreigners, especially those belonging to nations that have been our enemies." A North German newspaper pictures the modern Slavs as dangerous carriers of psychological bacilli: "We are exposed to a thousand alien influences. Many millions of foreigners now living in Germany are differently oriented from us and in consequence spread harmful opinions and rumors." To judge from this warning, many of the Slavs must be carrying on some kind of subversive propaganda —and what is more important, there must be members of the master-race who listen to the Slavs and at times agree with them.

File and Remember

Franco in Spanish Morocco

WE ARE meeting troops everywhere. The Caudillo has placed his best divisions in the Moroccan Protectorate. The troops are camping under complete war-time conditions, in tents and in field positions. The few cities likewise are heavily billeted, while barracks are being built everywhere.

The United States invasion of North Africa caused the Spanish government to take steps to safeguard the protectorate. Of course it is a military secret how many divisions have been deployed in Spanish Morocco for its protection. I have been obligated not to reveal anything about it. However, one thing is noticeable everywhere—a surprising number of troops from the Spanish mother country are stationed in Spanish Morocco at present.

One also may say that the divisions which have been deployed for the protection of Spanish Morocco are at least as many as General Eisenhower's formations in French Morocco. All these divisions are under the command of Spanish officers, who have at their disposal the vast experience gained during the days of the Spanish civil war.

Lieutenant General Yeldi Luis Orgaz is chief of the Spanish troops in Morocco. He also is High Commissioner in Tetuan, and directly responsible to the Caudillo, whose full confidence he enjoys. This man, to whom has been intrusted the task of protecting the safety of the bridgehead beyond the Strait of Gibraltar, is assisted by General Juan Yaguë, commander of the Tenth Army Corps in Melilla, who earned fame during the Spanish civil war by his initiative and his spirit of attack.

Spain's officers and men in Morocco impress one as excellent and seasoned troops.—*Berlin Transocean Broadcast, March 16.*

Come and Get Us

Midsummer madness has made its appearance before the appropriate season. If all this talk about a second front is meant to function as effect to win the war of nerves, then I can only say that this war of nerves is being waged not on the German but on the British people. It is the British who are pinning their faith to the theory that their armies will be fighting decisive battles on the Continent this year. So far as the Germans are concerned, the topic arouses no excitement at all but just the calm, steady hope that the Anglo-American forces will indeed place themselves within the reach of the Wehrmacht's striking power on European soil, where the Axis commands the inner lines of communication and every preparation is being made to deal with any contingency that may arise. In Germany everybody is perfectly content to abide the stern test of iron tanks.—LORD HAW HAW *over the Berlin short-wave radio.*

The Unpolitical General

General Giraud's supporters stress that he is not a politician but a soldier. So do Marshal Pétain's supporters. The old Marshal's politics are well known. We also know General Giraud's. On March 1 he addressed the Economic Council of Algiers. His speech was broadcast, but the daily press reported it only very incompletely. Among unreported passages: "I believe professional organization to be better than political agitation. I believe in class collaboration, and not in sterile class conflicts. I believe in work, in graduation of values, and in the necessity of having an élite. I believe in the rise of the lowest to higher positions according to their merit. I believe in youth, in cheerfulness, in good spirits, in willing effort. I refuse to believe in envy and hatred. And finally I believe in the army, in its enduring virtues."

If this is not the complete and undiluted glorification of the Fascist Corporate State, then words have lost their meaning. Everything is there. The élite, professional organizations instead of political agitation, class collaboration, "graduation of values," and, of course, the "enduring virtues" of the army as such. Mussolini must feel very proud to have such bright disciples in the enemy camp.—*Tribune* (London).

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

PROFESSOR C. E. M. JOAD'S recent proposal that British marriage laws be altered to permit a man to take a number of mates has practically driven all other post-war plans out of my head. The adjustment of woman to man, and vice versa, is surely as important as fixing the Balkan boundaries—and a lot more fascinating; we shall never have a peaceful world until the aggressors of both sexes are forced to cease their depredations and be content with their own *Lebensraum;* et cetera, et cetera.

The great question is how to divvy up the living-room. Dr. Joad feels that "monogamy is unsatisfactory." "I, for example," he said, "like the company of different women for different purposes—one to go out to dinner with, another to go to church with, another to cook for me, another to mother me, another to play games with, and another to make love to."

Dr. Joad slyly attempted to give philanthropic and social color to his proposal by suggesting that polygamy might absorb Britain's preponderance of women: but he failed to mention economics. He did not indicate who was to pay for the dinner, take care of church dues, buy the groceries and the backgammon set. I hope this does not mean that he is merely trying to preserve the status quo.

With less cunning, the Professor quoted Shaw's remark that any woman worth her salt would prefer a fifth share of a first-rate man to a whole share of a fifth-rate man. But what about the woman who found herself assigned one-fifth of a fifth-rate man? And who would do the rating, the women or the men?

It is impossible, of course, to pass judgment on Dr. Joad's plan until we have seen the full text. At this writing, I discern only a pretext. But the whole thing smacks of male imperialism. I can't help feeling that it would let us in for another period of secret diplomacy, hidden rearmament, *cordons sanitaires,* buffer states, quarrels over warm-water resorts, and balance-of-power politics, which could only lead to new wars and profit no one but the manufacturers of cosmetics and the two-way stretch.

To put it baldly, I'm afraid that Dr. Joad is indulging in a dream of *fair* women. I, for example, can't think of six women of whom the other five would be content merely to go out to dinner, attend church, cook, mother, or play games, even if the situation had been fully explained to them and even if by accepting their assigned roles they achieved the privilege of being called Mrs.

SPEAKING OF BUFFER STATES: Walter Duranty recently said that Stalin will want an independeat Soviet Republic of Manchuria, affiliated with the U. S. S. R., a "similar republic" of Korea, and even perhaps the Northwestern Chinese Soviet Republic of Sinkiang, Ningsia, and Shensi. He will also want the Baltic states, Petsamo, and access to Istanbul and the Persian Gulf. He will also want . . .

I don't suppose the other great powers will want any fewer buffers; and why won't one buffer automatically create the need for another buffer to protect the first buffer? And what will happen when some poor little duffer of a state is wanted by two, or even three, great powers as a buffer or as buffer to a buffer?

It all reminds me of the mad scene from Olsen and Johnson in which the policeman finds himself helping the burglar steal the hotel plumbing. It reminds me too of the remarks of Jack Downing almost a hundred years ago during the Mexican War. "What we've annexed in Mexico so far," he wrote, "isn't a circumstance to what we've got to do. . . . It's dangerous standin' still in this annexin' business. It's like the old woman's soap—if it don't go ahead it goes back." Downing also made that other cogent statement: "Uncle Joshua always says, in nine cases out of ten it costs more to rob an orchard than it would to buy the apples."

> *Buenos Aires, Argentina, April 6* (A.P.).—The Argentine courts seized all copies of the British documentary film "Big Blockade" today pending investigation of a German film company's charge that several battle scenes had been pirated from the Nazi propaganda picture "Blitzkrieg" in violation of the copyright laws.

It is reported that the Nazis are also planning to sue General Montgomery, the R. A. F., the Flying Fortresses, and the Red Army for similar infringement of copyright.

SENTENCE OF THE WEEK (from a dispatch in the New York *Times*): "This question is looked on with importance here."

MARGARET MARSHALL

The Boy from Illinois

BETWEEN THE THUNDER AND THE SUN. By Vincent Sheean. Random House. $3.

JAMES VINCENT SHEEAN'S "Personal History" was a fine book. It became the cultural Baedeker of a generation of Americans. This is its pale sequel.

"Between the Thunder and the Sun" is extremely well written, very interesting in parts, but quite unimportant. It describes Mr. Sheean's travels and experiences between 1935 and Pearl Harbor. The history has been written many times before, and the personal is not very significant.

Sheean met the exalted everywhere—Churchill, H. G. Wells, G. B. Shaw, the Duke of Windsor, Juan Negrín, Maisky, Mme Sun Yat-sen, Mme Chiang Kai-shek, and many others. Instead of the brilliant thumb-nail sketches his gifted pen might have given us Sheean limits himself to reporting a little conversation and a few externals. The best portrait, and a most fascinating one, is that of Mrs. Sheean's father, Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, the renowned British actor. But it has no relation to world events and little even to Sheean. In "Personal History" the personal was history; the individual encountered the problems which might face mil-

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lions like him. Here the personal is personal and private.

The boy from Illinois has reached the heights. All the salons of what he calls "international society" and the manors and dinner parties of dukes and lords are open to him. The boy from Illinois has fallen among the mighty. He still has talents. He has a good head, and his heart is in the right place. He has been consistently and actively anti-fascist. The poor, as ever, are the salt of the earth to him. His sympathies are with the downtrodden. But the Midwestern young man who climbed the mountain, saw the world, and grappled with it is only dimly discernible in these pages. The planetary conflict between the angels heralding the future and the satans guarding the past is forgotten. Perhaps the struggle on the battlefield has temporarily eclipsed the larger struggle behind the front. The blitz blinded him. Sheean's joy at having titled lords as his allies against Hitler blots out their noble blemishes. Having come close, he cannot look too closely.

Sheean feels somewhat self-conscious about this hobnobbing with British aristocracy and seeks to apologize. He good-humoredly tells how his friends, notably Bill Stoneman of the Chicago *Daily News,* with whom he lived for a time in London, used to rib him. When Jimmy came home he would find messages from Bill reading: "The Duchess of Westminster wants you to come to cocktails tomorrow. Will you please ring up the King tonight. And don't forget Lady Astor." But, cries Sheean, the Tories have ruled England for centuries and rule it completely today, and by drinking and eating with them I get to know the people who make the wheels go round. No, Jimmy, old friend. You saw the Tories much more clearly from the trenches of Madrid and from the banks of the Ebro flowing red with the Spanish people's blood. You saw them much better on that London bus ride you described in the first chapter of "Not Peace but a Sword." And Jack Belden, bright new star among the foreign correspondents, saw them equally well from Burma ("Retreat with Stilwell"). Perspective is better than proximity for sight and insight. By their works shall you know them, not by their charming words, their week-ends, and their panic legislation.

Sheean sat in the gallery of the House of Commons on the eve of Dunkirk and watched Parliament adopt legislation which gave the British government the right to take over the entire economy of the country. Since then that act has been applied against about five factories; but it holds the laboring population in its place. At the height of another crisis, when Hongkong, Malay, Singapore, and Rangoon had just fallen, the Tory-controlled government drafted the Cripps offer. Subsequently it was sabotaged; more recently Churchill, and now Eden, have told us that India is to remain a British colony. Mr. Churchill's latest broadcast painted a pink picture of the future Britain, but the only concrete thing it did was to pigeonhole the Beveridge Report, which might open the road to that future. These are your Tories, Jimmy.

Although contact made him tolerant, Sheean also quarreled with the aristocratic English about their past appeasement policies, and, son of the prairie that he is, he is ever wedded to democracy. "The people would never choose war if they could have peace," he declares, and this, in his opinion, goes for Germany too. He felicitously calls democracy "government by electricity" and dilates on the role of the radio and the press in modern representative regimes. Always an interventionist, Sheean nevertheless recognized that the United States would fight "only when it was directly, physically, attacked." But Soviet Russia behaved likewise, and Sheean regards the Soviet-Nazi pact as a grave blunder. In other words, dictatorships make mistakes too.

This book will probably reach many Americans and do them some good. But Sheean is capable of better work.

LOUIS FISCHER

Nationalism in Eden

THE NEAR EAST: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS. By Count Carlo Sforza, H. A. R. Gibb, Salo W. Baron, Charles K. Webster, Quincy Wright. Philip W. Ireland, Editor. The University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

THE region in which Oriental legend placed the Garden of Eden and history has located early civilization has become the wrestling ground between the British Empire and German would-be imperialism. Since the attention of all the belligerents is focused on this Near Eastern area, we are indebted to the Harris Foundation and to P. W. Ireland, himself the greatest authority on Iraq, for making available in book form the lectures on this important subject delivered last June at the University of Chicago.

The main problems here discussed are the conflict between religious and nationalistic principles in the East, Arab unity, and British policy as contrasted with an internationally controlled world order forecast by the Atlantic Charter. Professor Wright cannot be blamed for his vagueness in outlining the future, but his prediction is comforting that with the increase of communication "the type of political forces dominant in the world will more and more dominate in the Near East." Count Sforza, in his brilliant and scholarly lecture, expresses his hope for an entente between Arabs and Jews, but is pessimistic in so far as two world wars have shattered the moral basis of European ascendancy over Asia. I cannot share his assumption that because of lack of imagination the Turks take the "gigantic fraud" of Nazism as a permanent force and that "the soul of Turkey is with Germany." The soul of Turkey was never on the side of Germany, and not even its body would have been there had not German economic expansion acquired predominating influence.

With regard to pan-Arabism, Count Sforza reassures us that this catchword is but a phantom, as pan-Islamism was prior to World War I. In the first of his two masterful lectures we are told by Professor Gibb that Arab nationalism has avoided raising social issues. In the second he explains that complete political unification of the Arabs in the near future is unattainable chiefly because of the narrow-minded wishful thinking of pan-Arab nationalists. However, Professor Baron thinks an Arab federation with British cooperation is probable in the future, and he believes there will be a permanent settlement of the Arab-Jewish controversy in Palestine when this war is over. This antagonism is but one of many which the rising tide of nationalism has created in the East. Professor Webster candidly attributes the crisis of the conflict in the current war to the failure of British policy

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"to translate democracy into economic and social welfare." Nationalism, unlike religion, promises earthly prosperity, and not even the Garden of Eden can be transformed into a national paradise as long as the population of rich oil areas lives in extreme poverty. RUSTEM VAMBERY

Gandhi's Genius

A WEEK WITH GANDHI. By Louis Fischer. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.

IT SOMETIMES happens that a book of real importance is given so little attention by the professional reviewers that at the close of the season very few remember that it was even published. I think Louis Fischer's book on Gandhi is a case in point. Those who have talked to Mr. Fischer since his return from India cannot doubt that he feels himself to have been in the presence of a great man. Whatever one may think of Gandhi's ineffectual fast, or of his tactics, any impartial account of the man must record that he has laid firm foundations for Indian liberty. And to lay firm foundations in this tumble-down century is a sign of greatness.

Mr. Fischer is not a novelist and rarely makes use of a novelist's technique. We do catch glimpses of the little bowed man with the white mustache and the small gleaming eyes. We do see him emerge from the ashram, his arms over the shoulders of young boys, while the wealthy merchants stand by hoping for a smile. But there is little of the inner man on display. We do see what kind of argument causes Mr. Gandhi to change his mind; we can hear him grow heated in his conversation and from it we can tell what kind of enthusiasm he has. Many of those contrasts that one might have expected are not to be observed in this encounter. This was no meeting of East and West, for Mr. Gandhi revealed himself to be almost more Western than his questioner. Rarely, indeed, does the Oriental, as we have been taught to understand it, show itself in Gandhi. Once Mr. Fischer asked Gandhi whether he believed in the transmigration of souls. "Of course," Gandhi answered, but instead of replying in terms of Hindu philosophy, he employed arguments conventional among Anglo-Saxons. It was then that the Occidental showed up in Mr. Fischer. "Does it not all arise from the weak mortal's fear of death?" he asked, and this illogicality, for such it is to an Oriental, drew a characteristic Indian reply. "I have no fear of death. I would regard it with relief and satisfaction."

Again and again the Western reader will recognize the Hindu leader's arguments. The struggle against the British imperialists must necessarily become one against the Indian landlords, and when he is asked how the peasant will be given the land, the reply is that he will simply occupy it—the apotheosis of squatting, that is to say. It is an idea one has met before many times. Countless syndicalist conventions in France, Italy, and Spain have grown excited about this simultaneous breaking of fences.

There are few paradoxes in the thinking of this wholly simple man. There is no conflict between principle and tactic, such as one finds in almost every Anglo-Saxon socialist these days. Gandhi, who would not be regarded as a compromiser by most whites, nevertheless thinks of himself as one, and declares that this is because he is never sure that he is right. What he means, of course, is that he is not certain that his choice of moment is correct for the task of total liberation. So many have tried to find in Gandhi's doctrine and practice of non-resistance to evil something peculiarly Oriental. It is not so. The choice has been made upon wholly rational grounds, I believe, and is regarded as applicable only to an epoch. Gandhi is not only a fundamentalist; he is a master tactician. No other doctrine but his could have enabled the Indian Congress to grow. Had the Marxists or other advocates of open struggle obtained control of it in its early history, the British long ago would have crushed it out of existence before it had grown to appreciable size. Non-resistance, by imposing tasks which make no test of military strength, but which try a man's fortitude, and perhaps make use of his desire for martyrdom, has kept the idea of opposition to British rule alive during periods of greatest aggression. The chosen tactic has kept it alive, also, in times of ease, and that, perhaps, is more difficult. It is because Gandhi is a master tactician, I believe, that Louis Fischer was able to get him to change his mind about the presence of British military authorities in India. Fischer made Gandhi see that a new tactical and strategical perspective had opened, nothing more.

Again, India is regarded as the home of mysticism; yet there is little of the mystical in the Congress leader. Gandhi worships much as any Western pantheist might worship. He imposes upon himself a weekly day of silence. But he appears to draw his strength neither from worship nor from meditation. One will search in vain for the smallest fissure in this man's integral character; the ordinary tools of psychological analysis can get little purchase upon him. He is not great because of profound resentment; in his life evidently he is not compensating for some deficiency. He is not like Napoleon, the servant of an overwhelming intuition about the fighting of single battles, nor is there any vision of the perfect India in his mind. He will not commit himself to this or that description of Indian society. Democratic in every instinct, he does not think highly of our parliamentary democracy. He thinks of India as a country of 700,000 self-governing villages. Nevertheless, he will not be pinned down to agrarian anarchism, any more than to economic centralism.

It is when one reads these sections of the book that one sees that the man's whole thinking contains only one totally clear, simple, and stupendous image—India without the white man. It is in order to preserve within himself the full force of this simple idea that he refuses to commit himself to political doctrines. Within his own soul he is as great a tactician as he is with the masses of India. The outer and the inner of this man are one. Nothing within him shall erode his simple passion for liberty, though given a chance he would doubtless be adequate to the tasks of office. Nothing in the long-drawn-out battle with British imperialism shall split Congress into warring sects. Oddly enough, if one looks around to find another man like him, that man turns out to be Churchill. The Briton, too, is a man whose simplest passion overcame his sectarian prejudices. Yet what a difference there is between them; for to the Englishman, British liberty is in no way diminished by India's servitude. One will search this book in vain for any sign of so tremendous a sophistry in the Hindu. RALPH BATES

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Skilled Workers

NATALIE MAISIE, AND PAVILASTUKAY: TWO TALES IN VERSE. By JohnMasefield. Macmillan. $2.50.

SONG AND IDEA. By Richard Eberhart. Oxford. $1.50.

IF THERE IS TIME. By Hildegarde Flanner. New Directions. $1.

POEMS. By John Berryman. New Directions. $1.

WHEN the reader dug and the poet span, who was then the gentleman? Neither; but the poet had a better time. Poets have great experiences, even when writing bad poems. But the reader wants them too; and poets have no shame, and illustrate Nietzsche's concept of Eternal Recurrence. Of a recent group, Masefield recurs annually, sometimes oftener; Eberhart and Flanner every two or three years. Why? Sometimes I think no poet should be allowed to publish a book until he is dead, and severely intelligent friends and enemies have done much sifting. That would at least spare us the strenuous burrowing for nuggets, and the absurd feeling as the parade goes by: "Ah, a new X!"—when nine times out of ten it's just the same old X.

There are accidental mitigations, to be sure. Sometimes even the same old X is a relief from the same new Y's and Z's, all spinning Yeats-Auden thread like mad. Masefield's latest product has been much battered by the critics, especially those whom the war has stung to a belated zeal for social significance, but I find it rather nice. He tells two stories, a romantic love tale of Peter the Great's Russia—which, he tells us in the last stanza, has also been done as a ballet, and a very charming one it could make—and a Shangri-La fantasy about a man of today who finds in an Indian jungle a ruined temple showing that some human beings once lived like human beings. Both stories are very well told in straightforward, simply musical verse. I see nothing wicked in a poet's being unpretentious, and something very good about a Laureate in war time dreaming dreams of a Happy Land without lawyers, priests, politicians, or "the martial thing, all uniform and snort."

Richard Eberhart's less reliable skill is far more interesting. He has piercing directness of vision, a sometimes childlike and always virile accuracy of statement, and a blessed simplicity that makes it impossible not to mention Blake. Not in condescension, either: when so many try for Donne's intensity without his speed, it is a delight to hear a different and more successful echo. But these qualities of Eberhart often break down into an awkward stammer, a semi-inarticulateness that is the worse for seeming deliberate. Perhaps this is entailed in being a Naive Poet—in Schiller's phrase—in this century: "I gave the moral answer and I died/And into a realm of complexity came/Where nothing is possible but necessity/And the truth wailing there like a red babe." Eberhart's skill is particularly gladdening for its versatility. With poets like Flanner, Berryman, and far too many others almost every poem reiterates one state of mind, the same scene with different properties: for example, Flanner the Sensitive, Thinking Young Woman, Berryman the S. T. Y. M. Eberhart is whatever the creative moment impels him to be: Modern Man, yes, but as boy, son, lover, sophomore, listener to cicadas, etc., etc. This protean quality makes for enlivening

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experiences, and the less lively ones may be ascribed to an embarrassment of riches, not the struggles of poverty.

Hildegarde Flanner is a very slick writer. One is constantly impressed, and almost never excited, by the neatness of her poignancy. She herself, seemingly aware of this, sometimes throws in a Hopkins-like twist of syntax or a flurry of exclamation-marks, for a jolt, but without strong effect. Her poetic *Gestalt* is model-T Millay: Woman, fascinated and repelled by Life, unable to see anything objectively, terribly preoccupied with the pain of it, gritting her teeth though, trying hard to transcend her own warping intensity. The consequent monotony is scarcely relieved by such ventures into thought as a "reply" to Tennyson, stating that of old Freedom stood, not sat, on the heights, so that "It takes a thinking man to reach her lap." Surely this sort of thing should be left to Edna, who can do it much worse. And Miss Flanner should try to break away more from the pentameter, that delight of elegiac adolescents; her technique ought to be at least as mature as her meaning.

John Berryman's work is very young, very taut, very solemn. He likes the bony, stony feel of late and middle Yeats, and aims at it with some success. But he is best when he lets the grip of the Crisis relax a little. A neat satirical poem, Communist, and a charming evocation of the pleasures of friendship, A Poem for Bhain, suggest that he may yet give the questing reader something that won't remind him of 100,000 newspaper headlines or will lift him past them if it does.

FRANK JONES

Mr. Smith

LIFE IN A PUTTY KNIFE FACTORY. By H. Allen Smith. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.

UNTIL the publication last year of "Low Man on a Totem Pole," Allen Smith was known only to the readers of the New York *World-Telegram,* but his book gave the rest of the reading public a chance to enjoy him, and enjoy him they did, because "Low Man" leaped high on the national best-seller list and stayed there. Now he has written a new book, and it can be reported that this volume is every bit as amusing as his first.

A native of Indiana, Allen Smith is as American as baseball. Although he tries to write with a nasal twang, his style—he claims he hasn't any—is unadorned but clean and lean as first-rate journalism always is.

Smith protests vigorously that he is not socially conscious, that he is not interested in the "masses," but unerringly he seems to jab his "putty knife" into the spots that need prodding; Pegler, stuffed shirts, writers who take themselves too seriously, bartenders who don't, worshipers of "family," pretentiousness in any form, all call Mr. Smith to arms. He rarely misses his target.

Unlike most humorists, Smith does not use a stylized formula to get his effects. For the most part he relies on the bizarre quality of his material and his ability to get the most out of it. He writes of a lady bartender who thinks all her customers are aviators, of a fortune-teller who will only take her fee in desserts, of a jockey who is an expert on the technique of the ballet, of a copy-writer who cannot stand the word "ergo," of another who saw wolves, of a practical joker who should have been hung; in fact he has uncovered an entire gallery of nearly mad hatters. Through it all Smith himself wanders amiably, interrupting to tell about his father and his own newspaper and radio experiences. He also injects a few kind words for Walter Winchell, Fred Allen, Hollywood, Broadway, and a great many of his friends. The last-named group will find themselves listed in the front of the book among the cast of characters, but they will have to read the entire book to find out what he has said about them—a task I am sure they will find both pleasant and entertaining, as will most readers.

GEORGE JOEL

Fiction in Review

TAKING its text and title from "Paradise Lost," Hiram Haydn's "By Nature Free" (Bobbs, Merrill, $2.75) is the story of a moody young man named Philip Blair who works in a dull office by day and at night labors on a monumental intellectual history of the nineteenth century, of Philip's relation with his wife, a fine and beautiful woman unscathed by two years at Bryn Mawr, with his father, a retired street-car employee (known only as Dad) who takes his baseball and his democracy with equal seriousness, and with his brother Harvey (love 'em and leave 'em Harvey), who had suspicious intercourse with the Nazis in South America before he returned to the suburbs of Cleveland to threaten the Blair way of life. An autobiographical novel in no obvious sense but simply because its hero is the usual sensitive young man whose sufferings may be supposed to be those of his author, "By Nature Free" is chiefly interesting as still another example of the significant change that has come over autobiographical fiction in the last few years.

For in reviewing Michael Blankfort's "A Time to Live" last week, what I objected to most strongly was its urgent self-castigation: the trouble with Mr. Blankfort's Ernie Cripton was that, while Rome burned, he had fiddled away at playwriting and remained a doubting fellow-traveler instead of becoming a member of the Communist Party. But the self-reproach that tortured the pages of "A Time to Live" is no isolated phenomenon peculiar to Mr. Blankfort; it is merely an extreme instance of something of which anyone who follows current fiction must be increasingly aware—the bad conscience of this generation of novelists; and of course it is in the autobiographical novel or the novel of development that this tendency to self-blame becomes most apparent. For while, in the twenties and even in the early thirties, it was the whole point of the autobiographical novel that society is responsible for the unhappy condition of the author-hero, nowadays it is the author-hero who is responsible for the unhappy condition of society. Here, then, is the result of ten years of literary social consciousness, topped off by a new world war. Persuade a writer that anything in the world is expected of him *except* literature—politics, sociology, economics, religion, anything at all except the job of art—and you can hardly expect him to practice literature without guilt.

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"Every man's law must first come from inside himself, from his learning to rule himself with freedom," says one of the characters of "By Nature Free," and Philip Blair's struggle to make this law for himself, to lower his denominator and find some measure of domestic peace, is the major substance of the book. But although in another day this effort at self-understanding would have been a quite sufficient burden to lay on a hero, it is not enough for the current novelist; the hero of "By Nature Free," it turns out, must learn to rule himself with freedom not simply because it will make him more comfortable in the world, but because it is his duty to society. "[All men] are equal in that they have a native capacity to learn how to govern themselves; they are free alike in their privilege to choose this course, which in turn alone leads to true liberty," Mr. Haydn's spokesman continues. "And only when these facts . . . are realized, will democracy cease to be a dream or a slogan or a joke, and only then will you walk on your hind legs like men." Having misunderstood the nature of human freedom, in other words, Philip can blame himself not only for the miseries of his private life but for the miseries of the world; the fate of democracy rests on the proper integration of liberty and law in the individual, and consequently every time Philip is sullen with his wife he is undermining the democratic order! Well, whatever the nobility and basic soundness of this view of the relation between man and the state, surely, in both fiction and life, to live with so exacerbated a sense of cosmic responsibility is scarcely to live at all. Or at the least it represents a neuroticism as dangerous as the neuroticism of irresponsible individualism.

And I think it is Mr. Haydn's mistaken notion of the function of the novel, his conception of fiction as preachment or warning and his guilty feeling that his pen should be at the immediate service of society, that makes the sum of "By Nature Free" so manifestly inferior to any of its parts and reduces the end of his book to absurdity. For instance, subordinating his truly novelistic talents to a non-novelistic purpose, Mr. Haydn, before he is through, has washed away all his main characters in political symbolism, a sin against taste that is especially to be regretted in the case of Dad, whose portrait is more than half a really distinguished job. Using Mr. Haydn's own criteria, I shudder for the society that would be willing to sacrifice the genuine dignity of Dad falling asleep on the porch to the spurious dignity of his Lionel-Barrymoresque mouthings of political folk-wisdom.

As for two other novels I read this week, Jo Pagano's "Golden Wedding" (Random House, $2.50) suffers, I'm afraid, from being published so soon after Jerre Mangione's "Monte Allegro." It is the same kind of Italian-American family reminiscence, but less charming than Mr. Mangione's very charming book. And "White Ensigns" by Taffrail (G. P. Putnam's, $2.50) unfortunately also has a predecessor, "East of Farewell" by Howard Hunt, in comparison with which it loses in novelty. Still, it is an informative and dramatic account of life on both a destroyer and an armed merchantman, and it should be meat to a landlocked sailor. And for anyone the several chapters that deal with the evacuation of Dunkirk are fascinating hints of the whole story that is yet to be told.

DIANA TRILLING

"A news item to the effect that the Victory Book Drive will continue indefinitely reminds us of the camp experiences of a librarian in World War I. The first night he took charge three soldiers asked for Plato's Republic and two for Paradise Lost. An Army cook (regular Army—not a draftee) requested Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy. The camp library didn't have it, but the librarian said he'd try to borrow a copy if the man was sure he really wanted it. The cook replied that he did want it—felt he had not fully understood it the first time he read it—and he cited numerous other works of philosophy he had enjoyed. After hearing these reminiscences, we decided to take another look at our bookshelves with the Victory Drive in mind."

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DRAMA

High, Wide, and Handsome

OKLAHOMA!" (St. James Theater) is like the state it celebrates —high, wide, and handsome. I can't say I would ever have guessed that Lynn Riggs's play "Green Grow the Lilacs" would make an especially good book for a comic opera, but it does. Or at least it has been made so to serve, and the whole thing comes out as certainly one of the most lively, entertaining, and colorful musical comedies it has ever been my privilege to see. Richard Rodgers's music is original as well as tuneful; Oscar Hammerstein's lyrics are witty; Agnes de Mille's choreography is both beautiful and comic; Rouben Mamoulian's direction sets a vigorous tempo. What more could anyone ask? First-class performers perhaps? Some interesting scenic backgrounds? They also are provided in the course of an evening planned with a lavish hand as well as a talented one. The Theater Guild deserves congratulations but is pretty certainly due more substantial rewards. "Oklahoma!" is going to have a long run.

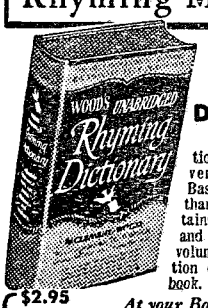
It is a notorious fact that Broadway's musical shows are generally good just in the degree that they are rowdy, slapdash, and orgiastic. We do the Bert Lahr–Ethel Merman sort of thing better than it was ever done before and in a way that makes such legendary institutions as the Folies Bergères look anemic. But I have seldom seen an American operetta that strove for some sort of good taste that did not strike me as tedious almost beyond endurance, and that is one of the things which make "Oklahoma!" seem astonishing. It is an operetta, not a revue; it does have a romantic story, it does seek its local color not from a night club on the one hand or a mythical kingdom on the other but from the wild and woolly West at the turn of the century. And yet it is vastly entertaining at the same time that it is fresh. I do not mean, of course, that "Oklahoma!" is solemn or even serious, that it goes in for realism or would call itself a folk play. What I do mean is that it has discovered a fresh source of themes to be treated with comic extravagance, and that the result is most exhilarating.

Perhaps the most important single element is the music of Richard Rodgers, which has a style all its own, a style even farther away from that of the tepid operetta tradition than it is from the pure jazz and swing of the usual revue. It is rhythmical enough and lively enough to suit Broadway taste, but it is also full of joyous melody which can sustain itself without that continuous rattle of drums and howl of brasses which may be fine for the jitterbug but is always a bit hard on the sedentary spectator. Two of his songs—the romantic "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'" and the lively "Farmer and the Cowman"—are sure to be heard frequently and for a long time. So too, I suspect, is the more conventional sounding "I Cain't Say No," which Celeste Holm sings with such good effect that it ought to make a star of her. All the other principals know how to make the most of their good material. Alfred Drake has a fine voice, Betty Garde makes a fine buxom aunt, Howard da Silva a fine villain, and Joseph Buloff a fine peddler whose demonstration of the "Persian goodby" on the person of Miss Holm is neatly topped by her cowboy lover's counter-demonstration of "the Oklahoma hello." Joan Roberts, who is almost a newcomer to Broadway, does very nicely also as a romantic heroine.

Only two American operettas of the last two decades have been really remembered vividly enough to be frequently mentioned—"Showboat" and "Porgy and Bess." "Oklahoma!" is not so ambitious as the last, and it is not quite so phenomenally slick as the first. But personally I like it quite as well as either.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Rhyming Made Easy



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ART

RECENT PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS. By Kurt Seligman. At the Durlacher Gallery, 11 East Fifty-seventh Street, until May 1.

Precise but almost too delicately colored drawings—as though Mr. Seligman were trying to catch the shape and texture of currents of air in the atmosphere. The paintings are more earth-bound, richer and bolder in color, yet do not lose the sense of space which gives to all these pictures an exhilaration.

DAVID SMITH. At the Willard Gallery, 32 East Fifty-seventh Street, until May 1.

David Smith is one of the most interesting artists in America. His drawings are a disappointment. They are too bitterly political to be looked at solely as drawings, and the emotion they arouse is rather one of pleasurable curiosity at the tortures of the victims than one of horror. But his sculpture is superb; there is never a false note, no hesitation. Of the eighteen sculptures here each is perfect and sufficient. If one could make any criticism, one might say that Mr. Smith is happier with steel and bronze than with stone. But whatever material he uses, he is always a delight.

JEAN CONNOLLY

MUSIC

AN EVENT of first importance was Stravinsky's guest appearance with the Ballet Theater to conduct a performance of "Petrushka." He had only the scratch orchestra which the Ballet Theater is having to use for its present New York season (and which at that is probably better than what audiences outside New York have been hearing); and there were plenty of sour sounds from the brass; but these were negligible blemishes in a performance that gave the music clarity of texture and outline, rhythmic steadiness and coherence, and the power which rhythmic control alone can produce. It would have been pleasure enough just to hear the superb work played in that way; but in imposing rhythm and order on the music Stravinsky inevitably imposed them on the stage performance that was based on the music.

As the music was strengthened by Stravinsky's participation, so was the stage performance by Bolm's. He was the Blackamoor, which he had been in the 1916 Diaghilev performances here; and in this role, despite the lack of agility that showed itself here and there, he was the most effective and impressive of the principals—the others being Massine as Petrushka (while the best Petrushka of recent years, Lazovsky, contributed only a brilliant First Groom) and Lucia Chase as the Dancer. And as the company's ballet master he presum-

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ably was responsible for the over-all improvement in the performance. In sum, even with the sour sounds from the brass and Lucia Chase's Dancer and the supers turned loose to mill about on the stage as "merchants, officers, soldiers, ladies, gentlemen, etc.," this was a performance in which it was possible to recognize one of the artistic masterpieces of our century.

Of the two new ballets that were not ready last fall Tudor's "Romeo and Juliet" was still not completed the night of its first performance, and was exhibited in an incomplete form which took the action only as far as the preparations for Juliet's marriage. At the effect, the impact of the tragic scenes that may or may not be added in later performances I cannot guess; of the incomplete work I can report that the music of Delius was excellently chosen, the magnificent setting and costumes of Berman excellently contrived for Tudor's narrative invention, in which the familiar and limited Tudor vocabulary was used at times as it had been in "Lilac Garden" and "Pillar of Fire" and at other times with beautifully imagined fitness for the characters of Romeo and Juliet and the situations in which they were placed. Markova's dancing as Juliet was exquisite in its communication of youthful grace and feeling, but I found her make-up and wig disturbing; Laing was as superb a Romeo as one might have expected him to be; and the work of the entire company was excellent.

On the other hand "Helen of Troy," when performed at last, had music of Offenbach, scenery and costumes by Vertes, and choreography by Lichine which added up to something so flat, so bad that it should be buried as quickly as possible.

Danced for the first time by the Ballet Theater was Massine's "Capriccio Espagnol," with much of the early portion lacking precision, but with the last part made exciting as always by Massine's great presence and style, his invention for the rest of the company, and on this occasion by the brilliance and verve of Lazovsky. And among the older Ballet Theater productions there have been "Les Sylphides," "Pas de Quatre," and "Giselle" with Markova's great performances, Massine's "Aleko" with Markova and Laing, and Agnes de Mille's delightful "Three Virgins and a Devil."

Victor's March list offered Stokowski's latest recording of Stravinsky's Suite from "L'Oiseau de feu," made this time with the N.B.C. Symphony (Set 933, $3.68). I have seen comments on the set which held that this work lent itself to a performance like Stokowski's which made it a display of high-powered orchestral virtuosity and tonal brilliance. But after hearing "Petrushka" conducted by Stravinsky I doubt that he would agree that even the Infernal Dance of King Kastchei was properly played in the way those comments find suitable: I am sure that what he would want, and what he would produce himself with the relentless rhythmic control that he exhibited in "Petrushka," would be not nervous excitement but hard, brutal, terrifying power. And everything he has said makes me certain that he would loathe Stokowski's perfumed phrasing, his impassioned, feverish swelling of lush sound in the quiet Dance of the Princesses and Berceuse. The performance is reproduced with marvelous fidelity, richness, and spaciousness.

Also on Victor's March list was a volume of oratorio excerpts sung by Richard Crooks to orchestral accompaniments by the Victor Symphony under Charles O'Connell (Set 934, $3.68). They comprise "Comfort Ye My People" from "The Messiah," "Total Eclipse" from "Samson," and "Sound an Alarm" from "Judas Maccabaeus"—all by Handel; and "Be Thou Faithful Unto Death" from "St. Paul," and "If With All Your Hearts" and "Then Shall the Righteous Shine Forth" from "Elijah"—by Mendelssohn. I like none of the Mendelssohn excerpts, and only the first two of Handel's—though I realize the third might be impressive in its context. Mr. Crooks's voice is a fine lyric tenor, which in much of this music he drives too hard in a declamatory or heroic style; and where he sings quietly, in some of Mendelssohn's music, he indulges in stylistic sentimentalities and tricky vocal colorings. The orchestral accompaniments are flabby. Voice and orchestra are superbly reproduced.

Victor's best March release was the single disc (10-1040, $.78) with Marian Anderson's beautiful singing of the spirituals "Let Us Break Bread Together" and "Oh! What a Beautiful City" to superb accompaniments by Franz Rupp.

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Letters to the Editors

From Down Under

Dear Sirs: I thought that you would be interested to know that you have several enthusiastic readers of your paper in this corner of the world. I regularly receive copies of the latest publications *per media* of a relative in the United States, and look forward to every number of what I consider to be the leading humanitarian journal in the English language. The passionate search for the truth, with an approach unfettered by any bigoted standpoint, is particularly appealing when the end result is a practical, positive one.

Your paper is an unending source of information on the workings of American politics and other matters that are not given much space in the limited pages of our press. But foreign references are also much appreciated, and it is a little disappointing to find that there are very seldom specific references to our country. Naturally, many of our problems are similar to your own, from isolationism to the Third International, but those that know our country will find much that is of importance to the future of the liberal world.

This is the home of much of the aggressive liberalism that is left among the Allied nations. I wonder if there are others so completely united on the question of the second front, on the political importance of labor, on the necessity of winning the war. True we have our Australia Firsters and our Social Credit supporters, but by and large there is no political movement of any strength based on a negative policy such as inspires the American "isms" arising from long-standing prejudices against people, class, and creed. And when impulsive critics charge us with being "squealers" and self-centered politically, can they remember how we answered the call in Egypt, Greece, and Crete?

And if we consider that people and the press on the other side of the world are too neglectful of the Japanese danger, do you blame us? We haven't neglected our duties arising from the demands of collective security—despite popular misunderstandings of the conscription question in Australia—and now we feel entitled to receive our share of support.

A paper such as yours could do much to arouse interest among your readers in the Australian political and socio-economic scene. It could do much, too, to establish the urgency of the South-west Pacific zone in the general picture of the United Nations strategy. Investigation of this question may reveal many important points of a non-strategic nature.

May *The Nation* long continue to flourish. RON TAFT

Melbourne, Australia, March 1

Clubs and Color

Dear Sirs: Your editorial in the March 27 issue of *The Nation* assumes, and quite naturally, that it is the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs which has excluded Negro women from its membership. As a member and a founder of this organization I have been deeply disturbed by a situation which has invited unfavorable comment before the membership as a whole has had an opportunity to consider and to decide the issue involved. The federation has no provision in its constitution or by-laws which excludes Negro women from membership. In fact, it has had them as members. Clubs have long enjoyed complete autonomy within the framework of the organization.

That in certain sections of the country there would be prejudice against accepting Negroes as members cannot be denied. The National Federation has been in existence for nearly a quarter of a century, has some 1,800 branches and approximately 70,000 members. Organizations when they become large and as they grow older are apt to lose their flexibility, sometimes even suffer a kind of hardening of the arteries. In addition, many of us as individuals still carry the bias of our backgrounds. Prejudice is not, however, confined to this group alone. It is always easier to preach than to practice democracy.

But whatever our group unwieldiness or individual prejudices, there are within the National Federation many, and I am one of them, who realize that this country is now called upon to justify its profession of democratic principles. Every day we send our young men to die upon the battlefields in the faith that by their sacrifice freedom, justice, and opportunity will not perish from the earth. America must justify this, at home as well as abroad. Its integrity in this respect is, it seems to me, about the world's last great hope.

I do not speak here for the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, of which I am president. The question of race or creed or color has never arisen among the many complex questions we have faced. In my opinion it never could. But the interpretation of democracy which American women give, the squaring of the deed with the word, will have great impact upon the women of other countries. These are powerful weapons which our women wield and for which they must account. Those who profess democracy will not destroy the enemy or his false philosophy by turning their weapons upon the banner under which those who cherish freedom march.

Members of the National Federation will not, in my judgment overlook the import of these things when faced squarely with the issue raised as to their own membership. I can appreciate the particular prejudice involved and measure its deep roots. But I have faith in the integrity and courage of our members. Representing as it does the hopes and aspirations of another minority group, this group has always shown tolerance and a remarkable sense of fair play. I can think of no time when it failed to meet an issue honestly and with courage once it saw that issue clearly.

This issue has not yet been placed before the members of the National Federation. Therefore they must not be judged until they themselves have spoken. Wherever the fault or mistaken judgment may lie, their answer is yet to come. LENA MADESIN PHILLIPS

Westport, Conn., April 2

One Detail

Dear Sirs: Your January issue, which has just arrived—and how glad we are to know that there is an America which realizes the European situation!—has a Hoffmeister cartoon showing Spanish Republicans in a North African concentration camp, watching the victorious American invaders go by. One detail is wrong. The men in the concentration camps are shown wearing suits: it is most unusual for a Spanish Republican who has probably been "in" for several

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years to be wearing anything but rags. I wonder if your readers know that the Vichy authorities so far disregarded Allied opinion as to condemn to death, *after the American landing*, a French officer who had escaped from prison in Germany in order to join the Free French and had hoped to get there by way of North Africa? But perhaps before this letter arrives, America will have recognized De Gaulle. It is time.

NAOMI MITCHISON

Carradale, Campbeltown, Argyll
March 18

How Do You Feel?

Dear Sirs: In your issue of April 3 John W. Follette states that I should have written, in a recent review, "Liben feels bad about white-collar slavery"—not, as I did, "feels badly." He is quite right. In future I shall feel bad, not badly, about poets who feel bad badly.

But does one not often hear, in conversation, "He feels badly about it," or "Don't feel so badly about it"? If this is not a figment of my ungrammatical imagination, it has a legitimate motive. "To feel bad" can also mean "to feel unwell," and different meanings call for different expression. The question is, should they get it, if it violates grammar? "To feel good," as distinct from "to feel well," does not. And did the adjective "well" (for which Webster gives no derivation) originate as the adverb of "good"? But this is guesswork, not to say casuistry. I am just trying not to feel bad. FRANK JONES

New Haven, Conn., April 3

Cry Hold! Enough!

Dear Sirs: Mr. McFee's letter in your last issue raises a question which involves such large issues that I fear the correspondence columns of *The Nation* would not have room for anything else were we to discuss them. Furthermore, the problem has been so thoroughly debated by C. S. Lewis and E. M. W. Tillyard in their book "The Personal Heresy" (1939) that it is hardly necessary to go into it again.

I would, however, like to point out to your readers just one more fact about Shakespeare before this correspondence ends. In the Authorized Version of the Bible "(which was in course of printing when Shakespeare was forty-six years of age), and in no other version previously, in the 46th Psalm, the 46th word from the beginning combined with the 46th word from the end (not counting the direction Selah, which is no part of the text) makes the name Shakespear" (Richmond Noble: "Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge," 1935).

This fact, it seems to me, opens vistas which Mr. Brooks and Mr. McFee might do well to explore.

THEODORE SPENCER

Cambridge, Mass., April 3

Fan in the Army

Dear Sirs: I feel constrained to write and tell you what pleasure *The Nation* gives me each week. This is the mail I most look forward to receiving; it makes army life more tolerable with its objective view and high political standards. C. L.

Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md.,
March 8

CONTRIBUTORS

TOM WINTRINGHAM commanded the British battalion of the International Brigade in Spain. Later he achieved some reputation as a writer of letters to London papers, predicting disaster unless the military changed their methods. After his predictions concerning Dunkirk and Narvik came true, he was placed in charge of England's Home Guard. He is the author of "New Ways of War."

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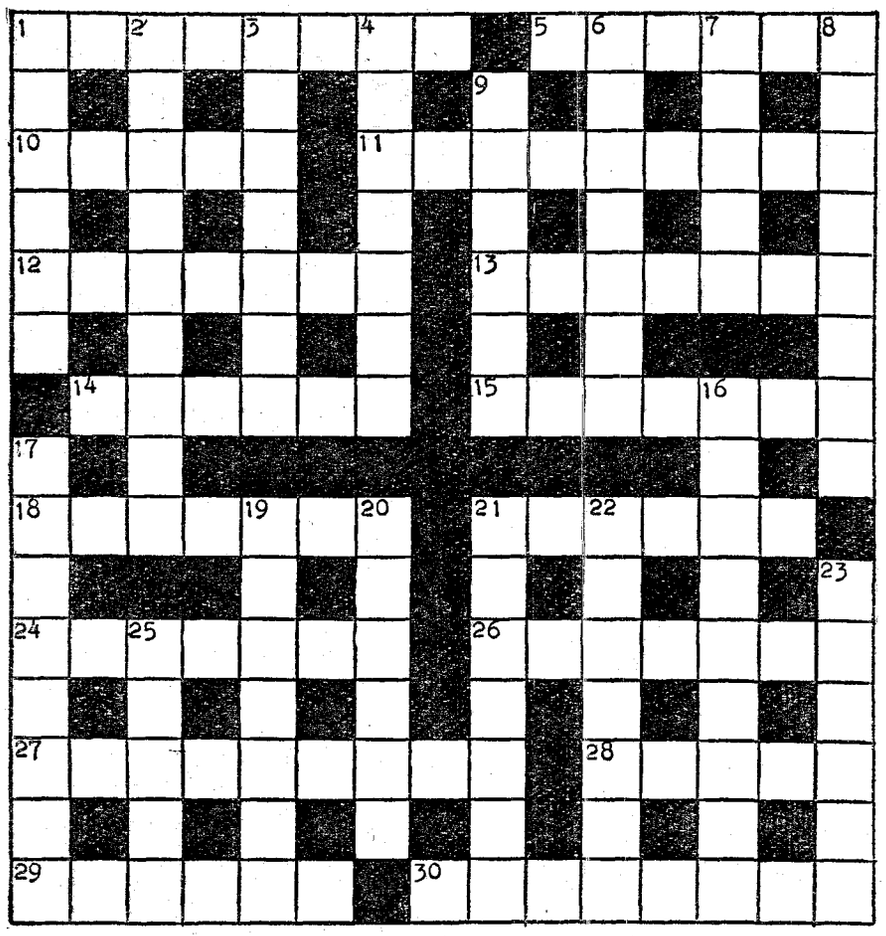
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 9

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 and 5 It sinks till sunk
10 Sounds like nothing, and may be the result of careless shaving
11 "But if it be a sin to covet honor, I am the most - - - - - - - - - soul alive" (King Henry V)
12 Surely a Roman's out of place in the galley?
13 A mistake printers sometimes make
14 Fancy getting a black eye in a shrine!
15 You can be shot for this crime; to behead it won't save you
18 Anti-aircraft artillery?
21 Falls an easy victim to the man with the punch
24 Some rise before they do so
26 Tip Pete (anag.)
27 A military contract possibly, but more usually an instruction to the troops (two words, 4 and 5)
28 Sometimes replace feet
29 Beat it for what Sambo called the encampment
30 I do later

DOWN

1 A big gun in Congressional circles
2 'Art' ful American general
3 The organization he founded has developed thousands of good shots
4 With a slight change of make-up this vocalist might preside at an inquest.
6 English racecourse at which the hopes of more than one American sportsman have come a cropper
7 Go with the tide
8 Tea is added to the dietary in this part of the army
9 Every cause produces one
16 Simple Susie was surprised when the butcher told her she must go to the confectioner's for this
17 Suitable companion for a footman?
19 This is what you salute, not the man inside
20 The sort of company most soldiers prefer?
21 Red tape (anag.)
22 Washington seems to be a first-class place
23 If this were less it would be more
25 Funny; seeing the Commander-in-Chief about a British order!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 8

ACROSS:—1 PROFESSOR; 6 EXTRA; 9 LIE-ABED; 10 USELESS; 11 ENTWINE; 12 LETITIA; 13 SHE; 15 DIPPER; 17 SATEEN; 18 ASSET; 19 CHALET; 22 YESTER; 25 VET; 27 STAMINA; 28 ARABIAN; 30 UNARMED; 31 NETTLES; 32 DATES; 33 LACERATED.

DOWN:—1 PULSE; 2 ONE-STEP; 3 EBB TIDE; 4 SIDLES; 5 ROUBLE; 6 ELECTRA; 7 TRESTLE; 8 ABSTAINER; 14 HASTE; 15 DACHSHUND; 16 RAT; 17 STY; 20 ADAMANT; 21 ENIGMAS; 23 EXACTOR; 24 TRIPLET; 25 VANDAL; 26 TANNIC; 29 NOSED.

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